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THE GROWTH OF INTEREST IN THE EARLY ITALIAN MASTERS

FROM TISCHBEIN TO RUSKIN

Interest has lately become keen in the rise and spread of the study of "Christian art." Through the efforts of various men in all countries—among the English-speaking nations primarily through Ruskin—the world has long been made familiar with the value of the pictorial art of the early Renaissance. It is only within comparatively recent times, however, that the historian has become aware that our present attitude toward the earlier masters was a necessary corollary of the great emotional upheaval which took its inception a century and a half ago.

Several treatises—to which I shall have occasion to refer in the course of this investigation—have lately appeared, more or less directly bearing on the subject here under discussion, and it is the purpose of the present writing further to contribute to a better understanding of one of the most interesting movements in criticism, and especially to point to the importance of German influence upon it.

To appreciate the originality implied in our modern attitude toward the early painters of Italy, it will be necessary briefly to familiarize ourselves with the canons prominent in the eighteenth century. Let us remember that the age of Louis XIV, which made current the formulæ of art and of life in vogue during a large part of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was

essentially aristocratic and intellectual. It insisted on dignity, refinement, and control, and was impatient of any tendency to break through the tenets of established creed. Emotion and individuality were held in check, if not suppressed; "regularity" and clearness were insisted upon. Hence antiquity influenced that age. Not, however, in the sense in which it did the Renaissance movement in Italy—as a thing of exuberance and power, broadening the horizon and leading men back to nature. It was merely an influence in the direction of dignity, exquisiteness, and technical perfection; until refinement became weakness, dignity coldness, control stiffness.

The uncritical admiration for antiquity prevalent in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries led to an infinitely narrow interpretation of the past. Our modern belief—first pronounced by Herder, and later more clearly defined by nineteenth century critics like Taine—according to which every temperament has a right to produce its own expression, was totally unknown. Whatever did not fit the established formula was rejected.

The ideal painter to those generations was Raphael. His work exhibited grace, technical skill, infinite refinement, and—his later productions at least—a knowledge of the ancients. He seemed satisfactory in every respect.

We can even today concur in this admiration, although partly for different reasons; but what seems much less intelligible to us is the fact that the Bolognese school—the Carracci, Albano, Guido Reni, Guercino, etc.—were believed to have rivaled, even distanced, the author of the "Transfiguration."

The Bolognese, such was the feeling, had freed art from mannerism, and had firmly established *le bon goût*. In the Carracci boldness and strength seemed coupled with dazzling technical ability; Guido appeared "divinely" graceful; and even Guercino, so disagreeable to us today on account of his violent contrasts of light and shade and his unnatural flesh-tints, was greatly beloved. Many writers agreed that the masters of Bologna represented the highest attainment of the human genius in the realm of pictorial art. Even Pietro da Cortona, to our

taste an empty rhetorician, was for a time regarded as a painter of the first rank.¹

Michel Angelo, on the other hand, the master-giant of the Renaissance, very characteristically for the time, seemed powerful but graceless, and hence essentially inartistic. Only after the middle of the century, after the yearning for power in literature had inspired Houdar de la Motte and Lessing with words of bitterness or ridicule for the French tragedy, Michel Angelo and Shakespeare together rose on the world. In 1772 Sir Joshua Reynolds, in a "discourse" delivered before the Royal Academy in London, declared that "the effect of the capital works of Michel Angelo perfectly corresponds to what Bourchardon said he felt from reading Homer; his whole frame appeared to himself to be enlarged, and all nature which surrounded him, diminished to atoms." The decline of Michel Angelo's reputation, he feels, was due to the decline of art.²

One might imagine that the admiration for strength which increased as the eighteenth century waned would soon have freed men from the polished Bolognese. Far from it; they exerted a sort of spell far into the nineteenth century. Then at last depth and sincerity of feeling, and naïveté, became the watch-words of art-criticism, and Guido and his associates were banished. *Sic transit gloria mundi*.³

¹ Coulanges (a cousin of Madame de Sévigné) who was in Italy in 1657 and 1658, maintains (cf. *Mémoires de M. de Coulanges*, publiés par M. de Monmerqué [Paris, 1820], p. 18): the Italians think Pietro "emporte la palme sur tous les autres," and popes, cardinals, and princes regard his paintings "avec un estime sans pareille." Liono Pascoli, in his *Vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti moderni* (Rome, 1750), says of Pietro (Vol. I, p. 3): "Ed in vero chi in maggior copia più di lui, e con maggior facilità, e franchezza ha dipinto cose grandi . . . Aveva il fuoco ne' colori, la veemenza nelle mani, l'impeto nel pennello." Even Cochin—of whom more later—in his *Lettres à un jeune artiste peintre*, and in other works shows a foible for him. Pietro's reputation waned, however, long before that of the Bolognese. Heinrich Meyer, in his *Entwurf einer Kunstgeschichte des 18ten Jahrhunderts* (1805), praises the latter, but attacks Pietro.

² Cf. *The Literary Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, with a Memoir by Beechey, Vol. I (London, 1899), pp. 371f. It is interesting, in this connection, to note Diderot's attitude toward Michel Angelo. In his "Pensées détachées sur la peinture, la sculpture, l'architecture et la poésie," *Œuvres complètes de Diderot*, ed. Assézat, Vol. XII (Paris, 1876), p. 118, he says: "Qui est-ce qui a vu Dieu? c'est Raphaël, c'est le Guide. Qui est-ce qui a vu Moïse? c'est Michel-Ange." And later (p. 132): "Il faut copier d'après Michel-Ange, et corriger son dessin d'après Raphaël."

³ The best representative of this hybrid attitude is Diderot. In his "Pensées détachées" (*loc. cit.*, p. 118) he says: "La colère du Saint Michel du Guide est aussi noble, aussi belle que la douleur du Laocoon." And in another place: "Il n'y a, à proprement parler, que

Throughout the eighteenth century, however, besides Raphael and the Bolognese, a few other masters of the High Renaissance throned in the realm of art. Titian and Correggio were felt to be the rivals of the greatest. Correggio charmed by his infinite grace; Titian by his marvelous coloring. Paolo Veronese, too, delighted because of the elegance of his figures, and Giulio by his ability as a technician. Lionardo, Tintoretto, Andrea del Sarto found favor, although in a lesser degree. Even Perugino and Mantegna, the former as the teacher of the "divine" Raphael, the latter as the instructor of Correggio, were deemed worthy of study. Here and there a good-natured critic or traveler has a kind word for Giorgione or for Fra Bartolomeo, or even for Bellini. Giotto is often mentioned as the founder of modern pictorial art, and occasionally someone has heard that Masaccio had something to do with the improvement of the technique of painting. But nobody is so barbarous as to waste time on Fra Angelico, Botticelli, the Lippis, Luca Signorelli, Ghirlandajo, Carpaccio—not to speak of less prominent men like Gentile da Fabriano, Cima, etc. To be sure, the names of these men occasionally occur, and the ignorant, who praise everything, praise even them. But those who know the *bon goût* are aware that almost all art which antedates Raphael is "Gothic."¹

trois grands peintres originaux, Raphaël, le Dominiquin et le Poussin. Entre les autres, qui forment pour ainsi dire leur école, il y en a qui se sont distingués par quelques qualités particulières" (*Œuvres*, Vol. X, p. 374).

¹This word has an interesting history. In the eighteenth century it was applied to the painting, sculpture and architecture which developed in various parts of Europe after the decay of the Roman Empire and before about 1500. The Goths, meaning the barbarians who destroyed the Roman Empire, stood to the seventeenth and a large part of the eighteenth century for everything that is brutal and savage. Hence "Gothic" was tantamount to "crude, barbarous." Vasari (*Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*. Con nuove annotazioni e commenti di Gaetano Milanesi [Firenze, 1878-81], Vol. I, pp. 138 ff.) says: "Eccì un' altra specie di lavori che si chiamano tedeschi Questa maniera fu trovata dai Goti, che . . . fecero dopo coloro che rimasero le fabbriche di questa maniera . . . e riempierono tutta Italia di questa maledizione di fabbriche." For generation after generation nobody dared to differ with the famous biographer. As late as 1778 J. G. Sulzer explains in his *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste* (2d ed. Vol. II, [Leipzig, 1792], pp. 433 ff.): "Man bedient sich dieses Beyworts [i. e., "gothisch"] in den schönen Künsten vielfältig, um dadurch einen barbarischen Geschmack anzudeuten; wiewohl der Sinn des Ausdrucks selten genau bestimmt wird. Fürnehmlich scheint er eine Unschildlichkeit, den Mangel der Schönheit und guter Verhältnisse, in sichtbaren Formen anzuzeigen, und ist daher entstanden, dass die Gothen, die sich in Italien niedergelassen, die Werke der alten Baukunst auf eine ungeschickte Art nachgeahmt haben. Dieses würde jedem noch halb barbarischen Volke begegnen, das schnell zu Macht und Reichthum gelangt, eh' es Zeit gehabt hat, an die Cultur des Geschmacks zu denken. Also ist der gothische Geschmack

Architecture was gaged by the same standard as painting. Antiquity had established the norm in this department of artistic activity, as it had in all others. Hence only those architects who were influenced by the "regular" forms were respected. The Byzantine, the Romanesque, the Gothic, the Moorish styles were all branded "Gothic." The sovereign master of the regular style was, however, Palladio, and his work was, therefore, perfect.¹

den Gothen nicht eigen, sondern allen Völkern gemein, die sich mit Werken der zeichnenden Künste abgeben, ehe der Geschmack eine hinlängliche Bildung bekommen hat . . . Darum nennt man nicht nur die von den Gothen aufgeführten plumpen, sondern auch die abentheuerlichen und mit tausend unnützen Zierrathen überladenen Gebäude, wozu vornehmlich die in Europa sich niedergelassenen Saracenen die ersten Muster gegeben haben, gothisch. Man findet auch Gebäude, wo diese beyde Arten des schlechten Geschmacks vereinigt sind. In der Mahlerey nennt man die Art zu zeichnen gothisch, die in Figuren herrschte, ehe die Kunst durch das Studium der Natur und des Antiken am Ende des XV. Jahrhunderts wieder hergestellt worden . . . Es scheint also überhaupt, dass der gothische Geschmack aus Mangel des Nachdenkens über das, was man zu machen hat, entstehe." For details on the history of the word, cf. G. Lüttke: "Gothisch im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Wortforschung*, Vol. IV, (1904), pp. 133 ff. In addition to the passages given by Lüttke, a few more which have come under my observation may here find a place as further illustration of the ignorance in regard to the history of art on the part of the eighteenth-century public.

The most amusing proof of confusion is perhaps the following utterance by a Swedish writer, C. A. Ehrensvärd. He says, in his *Resa til Italien, 1780, 1781, 1782*: Skrifven 1782 i Stralsund; ny uplaga (Stockholm, 1819), p. 29: "Uti arabesquerne i Pompeji och Herculaneum är Gothiska architecturen målad; man ser derigenom huru litet man har fog at kalla den Göthisk." ("In the arabesques in Pompeii and Herculaneum are represented specimens of Gothic architecture; we perceive from this fact how little justification there is for calling them Gothic.") Gray, the poet, cultured man though he was, calls the Doge's palace at Venice "in the Arabesque manner," *Works*, ed. Ed. Gosse, Vol. II. (New York, 1890), p. 255. Fr. von Stolberg, as late as 1791, claims: "aus Spanien kam die gothische Architectonik über Frankreich nach Deutschland (*Gesammelte Werke der Brüder Christian und Friedrich Grafen zu Stolberg*, Vol. VII [Hamburg, 1827], p. 72). Students of Diderot remember that the most withering epithet of contempt he could hurl in his rage at his cowardly printer who had emasculated some of D.'s most seditious articles in the *Encyclopédie* was "Ostro-Goth." Ignorance concerning the nature of Gothic is further attested by Horace Mann, the correspondent of Sir Horace Walpole, who innocently believed W.'s garden at Strawberry Hill to be Gothic (cf. *Letters of Horace Walpole*, ed. Cunningham, Vol. II [London, 1891], p. 327). Here the word is used without opprobrium. Walpole himself as early as 1753 implies admiration in using the word. He writes to Bentley (*Letters*, Vol. II, p. 351) of the "charming venerable Gothic scene" presented by the buildings at Oxford during a moonlight night. A change of attitude toward the Middle Ages naturally spread the interpretation of the word as used by Walpole. By way of contrast, let us remember that Ruskin, in the *Stones of Venice* ("Torcello," §5; omitted in the Brantwood edition), uses "Gothic energy and love of life" as a term of highest approbation.

¹ Palladio's influence was particularly powerful in England. Inigo Jones (1573-1652), the creator of modern English architecture, was twice in Italy, where he enthusiastically studied the works of Palladio. He later introduced the Palladian style into England, to the almost total exclusion of national traditions. He was encouraged by the nobility, although the middle classes compelled him at times to build more nearly in the spirit of Gothic architecture. One of Jones's most remarkable classical buildings is the villa in Chislewick, Middlesex, an imitation of the Villa Rotonda by Palladio. Sir Christopher Wren (1632-1723), the architect of St. Paul's, rebuilt London, after the great fire of 1666, largely in the spirit of Palladio. In the eighteenth century James Gibbs (1682-1754) and

In sculpture also antiquity was regarded as the only model. To be sure, much confusion prevailed here, as in other departments of art-criticism. Ghiberti, Donatello, even Michel Angelo, were looked upon as barbarous or semi-barbarous, while the sculptures on mediæval churches appeared merely absurd or disgusting. In the seventeenth century and during a part of the eighteenth the hollow skill of Bernini charmed, but later a new interpretation of antiquity, introduced mainly by Winckelmann, swept him aside and more firmly than ever established the Greeks.

The first important and widely known book which helped to promulgate the views of Italian art set forth above is Richardson's *An account of some of the statues, basreliefs, drawings, and pictures in Italy, &c. With remarks* (London, 1722).¹ The tone throughout is chatty and yet lifeless, and the whole treatise appears much like a catalogue. Let us take from it the pas-

Colin Campbell (died 1729) were exponents of the same taste. C. is the author of the famous *Vitruvius Britannicus* (London, 1717-25), an important source for our knowledge of the architecture of the time. The title shows how familiar the name of Palladio's teacher and model was to that generation. Campbell's Mereworth Castle in Kent (1723) and Goodwood House (1724-31) strongly bear the imprint of Palladio (cf. Gurlitt, *Geschichte des Barockstils, des Rococo und des Klassicismus*, II. Abt., I. Teil, "Belgien, Holland, Frankreich, England" [Stuttgart, 1888], pp. 313 ff.).

In 1776 appeared *Le fabbriche, ed i disegni di Andrea Palladio*, "raccolti ed illustrati da Ottavio Bertotti Scamozzi"—an enormous work in four folio volumes. A second edition appeared as late as 1843-46, showing how powerful was Palladio's name even after a movement in favor of Gothic had strongly asserted itself. The reaction against Palladio, violent in proportion to the exaggerated estimate of him, found most adequate expression in Ruskin's *Stones of Venice* (cf. especially his criticism of S. Giorgio Maggiore, in Brantwood ed., Vol. II, pp. 242 f.). His most succinct characterization of Palladio occurs, however, in *Modern Painters* (first American ed., Vol. IV [N. Y., 1857], p. 65): "The architecture of Palladio is wholly virtueless and despicable."

¹Jonathan Richardson the Elder (1665-1745) was a famous painter and art-critic, the friend of Pope, Prior, Gay, and other notables. Besides his book on art, he published verses and a work on Milton which established his reputation among men of letters. His pupil, Thomas Hudson, was the teacher of Sir Joshua Reynolds. Both Reynolds and Hogarth are said to have owed R. valuable inspiration. Examples of his work as a portrait-painter are to be seen in the National Portrait Gallery in London, and chalk-drawings by him in the print-room of the National Gallery. In 1715 he issued his *Essay on the Theory of Painting*, and in 1719 *An Essay on the whole Art of Criticism in Relation to Painting and An Argument in behalf of the Science of a Connoisseur*. The *Theory of Painting* for many years was the standard work on the subject. In 1722 appeared the *Account of some of the statues, etc.*, based on material compiled by R.'s son, but edited by the father. This work was for a long time regarded as an important authority, and is referred to by Lessing and Winckelmann. It was several times reprinted and in 1728 was translated into French. As the French edition was "revue, corrigée et considérablement augmentée . . . par les auteurs," it is more important than the original, and I shall quote from it only.

sages most important for our purposes. In Milan Richardson admires Lionardo's "Last Supper" in frosty fashion. In Bologna he gives expression to his admiration for all the Bolognese masters, including Guercino. In Florence the bronze doors by Ghiberti seem to him worthy of note, although "il y a un peu du goût gothique dans les draperies." The door by Andrea Pisano is "dans le goût gothique de son temps." In the Uffizi the works of the early masters make no impression on him. Of "L'Adoration des Mages," by Botticelli, he simply says: "Les anges, et plusieurs autres choses, en sont rehaussés d'or." Of Ghirlandajo's "La Circoncision" we read, however: "Les airs et les attitudes en sont nobles et naïves" (a strong bit of praise for a critic of that time). Yet all these pictures, for Richardson, serve only as a foil for the works of Raphael. The "Concerto," by Giorgione, Richardson describes in the following fashion: "Martin Luther (!) qui touche un clavessin, sa femme est à son côté et Bucer (*sic*) derrière lui." He tells us nothing of the Giotto's in Sta. Croce, nor does he mention Sta. Maria Novella nor S. Marco. He has much admiration, however, for Andrea del Sarto and even for Michel Angelo as a sculptor. On the description of Rome he bestows 500 pages, while 80 sufficed to exhaust a discussion of Florence. He devotes much space to a description of the remnants of antiquity in Rome, has great praise for Raphael and unbounded admiration for the Carracci frescoes in the Palazzo Farnese. The most striking artist, however, is Correggio. The paintings on the side-walls of the Sistine Chapel receive no comment from him, except that they are "fort gâtées." (All travelers of the eighteenth century, including Goethe, share this indifference toward those masterpieces.) Nor do the frescoes of the ceiling, nor the "Last Judgment," satisfy him. Michel Angelo might have been something altogether remarkable, we are told, but he was gloomy and too much like his favorite poet Dante. He was "un génie extravagant; . . . il lui manquait une solidité d'esprit, aussi-bien qu'une certaine politesse de jugement." Remarkably enough, Richardson appreciates Pinturicchio (both the frescoes in the Maria del Popolo and in Rome in the "library" of the Dome of Siena). Titian meets with his approval, as, of course, does

Giulio Romano (especially for his frescoes in the Palazzo del T in Mantua).¹

Richardson's book was eclipsed about the middle of the century by another, far more readable and brilliant, written by one of the most influential art-critics of the last two centuries, Charles Cochin. His *Voyage d'Italie* appeared in 1758, and very soon took rank among the most important works on art of the time. It was often reprinted, in 1776 was translated into German, and altogether was the most powerful barrier, in France at least, to the spread of interest in early Christian art.²

Let us select from it a few of the most significant passages.

In Ravenna the mosaics of S. Vitale appear to Cochin merely "fort mauvaises." The early Florentine school he dismisses with a few words, and the early Sienese masters escape his notice altogether. He vouchsafes no discussion of Giotto and Orcagna, and

¹ Richardson's intolerable pedantry appears best, perhaps, in the *Theory of Painting*. Here he claims (in the subdivision entitled "Of Invention") that nothing absurd, indecent, or mean; nothing contrary to religion or morality, must be put into a picture, or even hinted at. He further gives it as his opinion that, before a painter starts his picture, he should write out the story of it (!). In the *Essay on the Art of Criticism* (in the subdivision entitled "Of the Goodness of a Picture") he supplements this utterance by another of the same character; for here he assures us that, if the story of a picture fill the mind with noble and instructive ideas, he would not hesitate to pronounce it excellent, even if the drawing be as faulty as that of Correggio, Titian, or Rubens. All this from one of the leading art-critics of the time!

² Charles Nicolas Cochin, descended from a family of well-known engravers, was born in Paris in 1715 and died there in 1790. He followed his father's profession, and soon rose to great eminence. In 1749 Madame de Pompadour chose several men, among them Cochin, to go to Italy with her brother, the Marquis de Vandières, who was later made *directeur général des bâtiments*. This was the beginning of a brilliant career for Cochin. In 1751 he was made a member of the Academy, in 1752 was appointed *garde des desseins du Roi*, in 1755 *historiographe et secrétaire* of the Academy, in 1757 he was ennobled, and soon after was created *chevalier de l'Ordre de St. Michel*. It now became Cochin's ambition to make himself a power in art-criticism. For this reason he published his *Voyage d'Italie; ou, Recueil de notes sur les ouvrages de peinture et de sculpture qu'on voit dans les principales villes d'Italie* (Paris, 1758), based on notes collected during his trip in the South. The book instantly gave him much prestige. Diderot said of it soon after its appearance: "Il ne faut pas aller en Italie sans avoir mis ce voyage dans son porte-manteau". Other works of a critical character helped to strengthen his position, so that at last he became the monarch of French taste. In all his writings he pleaded for the *grand goût* as opposed to Rococo. As an etcher, however, he stands as the most adequate interpreter of all the graces and prettinesses, of the elegance and frivolity, characteristic of the court of Louis XV. From 1741 on, his plates—and their name is legion—came to be regarded as invaluable. Even Diderot granted him the very first place among French etchers. In course of time the *grand goût* which he himself had helped to establish, crowded out Rococo, and Cochin—the brilliant exponent of it with the stencil—lost his distinguished position among artists. His influence in criticism, however, was felt in France until almost the middle of the nineteenth century (cf. S. Rocheblave, *Les Cochins* [Paris, no date], and Edmond et Jules de Goncourt, *L'art du XVIII^e siècle, deuxième série* [Paris, 1882]; pp. 327 ff.).

deems it beneath his dignity to comment on Fra Angelico, the Lippis, Botticelli, Ghirlandajo, etc. The frescoes in the Campo Santo in Pisa, he tells us, are specimens of the old school, and "par conséquent mauvaises." The older Venetian masters are hardly more to his liking. Carpaccio, he thinks, has merit, but is dry. Of the Bellini in S. Zaccaria in Venice—that favorite of Ruskin—he merely says "assez beau, d'une manière très-douce et très-fondue; on y trouve beaucoup de vérités, mais froides." Even Giorgione is an object of but mediocre interest to him.

The masters of the High Renaissance appear to Cochin vastly more important. Andrea del Sarto, especially the Madonna del Sacco, greatly attracts him. Much greater than Andrea is, of course, Raphael. As the *Voyage* does not deal with Rome—on the plea that a special work would be needed to do justice to that metropolis of art—Cochin has comparatively little opportunity to discuss him. In Bologna, however, the Sta. Cecilia, and in Florence the Madonna della Sedia, delight him. More important than his utterances on Raphael are his remarks on the later Venetians, as no one had so greatly appreciated their artistic importance before. Paolo is the greatest painter for "la composition raisonnée d'un tableau (a significant phrase)." Cochin has unstinted praise for Titian, and Tintoretto fascinates him in spite of faults.¹ Of Correggio we read: "La nature seule l'a guidé, et sa belle imagination a su y découvrir ce qu'elle a de plus séducteur." Even Pietro da Cortona attracts him. His favorites, however, are the Bolognese. Through them, he claims, "la peinture est arrivée au plus haut degré de perfection." Cochin's view of architecture implies as much contempt of the Middle Ages as does his view of painting. Of the dome of Pisa he records "une grande Eglise assez belle, l'extérieur en est gothique, tout bâti de marbre, et orné, sans goût, de colonnes de toutes sortes de marbres;" while the dome of Milan is to him "le comble de la folie du travail des Architectes Gothiques."

Cochin's powerful influence was in Germany supplemented,

¹ Rocheblave has shown (op. cit., pp. 104 ff.) that throughout the pages of the *Voyage* is scattered a doctrine of art recommending the imitation of the Venetians at the expense of the "Roman school."

and soon supplanted, by that of Raphael Mengs.¹ His essays on art must be regarded, together with the works of Cochin, as the most adequate expression of the art-tenets of the eighteenth century. He voices the same principles as Cochin—with this modification, that here and there a broader attitude toward the art of the early Renaissance is faintly foreshadowed. So he says of Giotto: "Seine Umrisse sind trocken, die Falten seiner Gewänder zu abgebrochen, allein seine Farben ungemein lebhaft." Of Masaccio he grants: "Sein Geschmack nähert sich Raphael mehr als der übrigen Maler jener Periode. Seine Draperien sind grösser und nicht so abgebrochen, wie bei Giotto." Masaccio, furthermore, had more expression than his predecessors and contemporaries. Other early masters fare less well with Mengs. Verocchio was the teacher of Lionardo, but, Mengs adds, "malte in einem sehr trockenen Geschmack." Lionardo had good points, but his works are sometimes "etwas platt." "Seine Charaktere [sind] nicht immer edel und die Falten der Gewänder etwas abgebrochen." Mengs has only partial admiration for Andrea, while he notes of Michel Angelo: "Sein Colorit ist grau, sein Helldunkel zu gleichförmig." His men are excellent, but his women lack grace. Later artists are far greater favorites with Mengs. Correggio, in contrast with the "trockene Geschmack" of his teacher Mantegna, was conspicuous for charming, though often incorrect, drawing and for "Rundung." In his own way, Correggio was one of the greatest painters. He carried to consummation "was Lionardo da Vinci nur andeutete." In his oil-paintings he is to be compared only to the "göttliche Raphael." The Venetians, however, find less absolute favor with Mengs than they did with Cochin. Giorgione

* "zeichnete in erhabenem Geschmack, aber nicht sehr correct,

¹Mengs was born near Dresden in 1728, spent a large part of his life in Rome, and died there in 1779. He was for many years regarded as the most distinguished painter in Europe, and was often compared with Raphael. He was a friend of Winckelmann, and together with him for a time established in Rome, and from there in all Europe, the superiority of German influence. On Mengs cf. the article in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*; O. Harnack, *Deutsches Kunstleben in Rom im Zeitalter der Klassik* (Weimar, 1896), pp. 7 ff., 21 ff., *et passim*; Otto Harnack, *Essays und Studien zur Literaturgeschichte* (Braunschweig, 1899), pp. 192 ff. His works were first edited by G. N. d'Azara (2 vols.; Parma, 1780); another edition, with additions (Bassano, 1783); a new edition by C. Fea, corrected and enlarged, appeared in Rome in 1787. The first German translation, by C. F. Prange, appeared in Halle in 1786. I used A. R. Mengs's *Sämmtliche Schriften* . . . neu übersetzt . . . und herausgegeben von Schilling, 2 vols. (Bonn, 1843-44).

beinahe in der Manier Michael Angelo's." Titian is remarkable for his boldness of stroke. In his last period, however, his manner became "grob." Yet Mengs admits "die Wirkung seiner Gemälde ist wahr." He admires the color in Titian's best works, but modifies this bit of praise by adding that the drawing is generally incorrect. Mengs finds much to admire in Paolo Veronese, but adds: "seine nackten Figuren sind sehr steif und die Gesichtszüge der Köpfe abgeschmackt." Critical as Mengs is, he finds it difficult to bestow unstinted praise even on the Bolognese, great though his admiration is for them. Of Ludovico Carracci we read: "Sein Geschmack in der Composition ist gross, schön und edel, seine Zeichnung ausserordentlich anmuthig. Er hatte den herrlichen Geschmack, welchen wir an Correggio bewundern." His color, however, is less admirable, and his draperies are a bit monotonous. Augustino Carracci "besass ein ungemeines Talent, componierte sehr, und zeichnete ausserst correct," but his color is a bit too dark. Annibale Carracci's drawing is "grossartig und ziemlich correct, nur etwas zu rund." Of Guercino he tells us: "Sein Geschmack in der Composition ist frei und gut, seine Zeichnung grossartig, allein nicht sehr correct." His color and his draperies are only partially satisfactory.

It is apparent, then, that throughout the century, in all parts of Europe, art-criticism, in spite of slight deviations in detail, agreed in regarding Raphael and the Bolognese as having reached the supreme height of artistic achievement. Other masters of the High Renaissance were ranked but little below them, while the representatives of the earlier periods were deemed unworthy of regard.

In order to understand how this fabric of art-criticism, apparently so strong and brilliant, could crumble, and in the nineteenth century be replaced by radically different views, we shall have to recall several of the great revolutionary tendencies of the eighteenth century.

The whole so-called romantic movement flows, as has often been pointed out, from a mighty reawakening of emotional life. Even in the French literature of the seventeenth century emotion here and there timidly comes to expression; as, for instance, in

the letters of Madame de Sévigné and in the choruses of *Athalie*. At the threshold of the eighteenth century we meet James Thompson, whose works, however tame to the modern reader, were the expression of a new impulse. Not long after the complete *Seasons* appeared the first three cantos of Klopstock's *Messias* (1748). Its enthusiastic reception proved to what an extent Germany craved emotional depth and seriousness. Somewhat later, emotional power—sometimes even to an extent incompatible with self-control—determines most of Diderot's views of life and art, as expressed in his *Salons* and elsewhere. Synchronous with Diderot's most revolutionary works are those of Rousseau, in which emotion ran riot, and which led to a complete subversion of the old order.

Concomitant with this upheaval in literature was the desire for a profounder and more genuine religious life than the seventeenth century had known. The disciples of Spener as early as 1689 started that great spiritual movement within the Protestant church, known as "Pietism," which gained such momentum upon the removal of A. H. Francke to Halle in 1694. Pietism was succeeded by the "Herrnhuter," who combined in 1727 for the purpose of stimulating in one another brotherly love and a purer Christian life. Some ten years later John Wesley started that powerful movement in favor of religious fervor within the English church, known as "Methodism." In 1762 Rousseau published his *Émile*, in the fourth book of which appeared the "Profession de foi du Vicaire Savoyard." Here all the pretenses of reason are rejected as hollow, and intuition is declared infallible.

As emotional life deepened, a new interpretation of the past forced itself upon the minds of men. A conviction arose that the period so long despised as "Gothic" might contain elements of deep inspiration. We need hardly concern ourselves with the early sporadic efforts of individual enthusiasts to acquaint their contemporaries with mediæval records. Suffice it to call to mind here that as early as 1734 Bodmer, the Swiss critic, published *Character Der Teutschen Gedichte*, and in 1743 *Von den vortrefflichen Umständen für die Poesie unter den Kaisern aus dem schwäbischen Hause*. A little later, between 1753 and 1759, he

put forth—in very uncritical garb, to be sure—*Der Parcival*, parts of the *Nibelungenlied*, and the *Minnesänger*. In 1755 Mallet gave to the world the first translation of the *Edda*, and another Frenchman, Sainte Palaye, issued the first volume of a large work *Mémoires sur l'ancienne chevalerie* (1759). In 1760 the appearance of *Ossian* strongly contributed to the confused but genuine love for things mediæval which was so rapidly widening European culture. Hurd's *Letters on Chivalry and Romance*, which appeared soon after (1762), mark an important advance. For the author aims to prove "the pre-eminence of the Gothic manners and fictions, as adapted to the ends of poetry, above the classic." He has the boldness to prefer the Gothic manner to the heroic as found in Homer.¹ At the same time, the first step was taken in Germany toward a critical study of the national past. Möser's *Osnabrückische Geschichte*, which appeared in 1768, may be regarded as the first faint attempt at a historical study of the Middle Ages.

In 1764 appeared the first important novel with mediæval setting, Walpole's *Castle of Otranto*, the forerunner of the works of Mrs. Radcliffe and Sir Walter Scott. Simultaneously there was created in Germany a form of poetry intended to reflect the spirit of the German past. In 1766 Gerstenberg published his *Gedicht eines Skalden*, which, though intensely crude, inspired works like Klopstock's patriotic dramas, *Hermannsschlacht* (1769), later followed by *Hermann und die Fürsten* and *Hermanns Tod*. Gleim, patriot-poet, four years after the appearance of the *Hermannsschlacht* issued poems in imitation of the minnesinger, and in 1779 another volume in imitation of Walther von der Vogelweide.

At about the time when Klopstock was inflaming German patriotism, an Englishman of culture called the attention of his countrymen to older periods of English literature. Thomas Warton's *History of English Poetry from the Twelfth to the Close of the Sixteenth Century* (Vol. I in 1774) marks a significant step in the Gothic Revival.

¹ Cf. H. A. Beers, *A History of English Romanticism in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1899).

Not one of these admirers of the Middle Ages, however, betrayed any true conception of the character of the time. The first to convey such insight was Herder. His *Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte zur Bildung der Menschheit* (1774) reads like a prophecy of the views promulgated about a generation later by the German Romantic School. The Germanic individuality and the tenets of Christianity, Herder claims, together created a new epoch in the history of mankind, the Middle Ages. "Wir wollens Gothischen Geist, Nordisches Ritterthum im weitesten Verstande nennen—grosses Phänomenon so vieler Jahrhunderte, Länder und Situationen." With all their faults, those times had the advantage over us moderns in point of health and of simplicity. In conscious opposition to Voltaire's *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations*, he continues: "Wie es auch sei, gebt uns in manchem Betracht eure Andacht und Aberglauben, Finsterniss und Unwissenheit, Unordnung und Rohigkeit der Sitten, und nehmt unser Licht und Unglaube, unsere entnervte Kälte und Feinheit." Later, in his great historical work, *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (1784 ff.)—the first attempt on a large scale at culture-history in the modern sense—Herder again does justice to the importance of the Middle Ages, though in less rhetorical a fashion, thus paving the way for a scientific appreciation of a despised period.

Nor was the Romantic School slow to take up the hints thrown off by Herder, and mediævalism became a watchword of German literature. The propaganda made by the Schlegels and Tieck for the mediæval, the historical works of Johannes Müller, and especially the sound contributions of the Grimms and their associates, ultimately led to a profound and critical understanding of mediæval culture.

The emotional element contained in the interest in the Middle Ages was mightily strengthened by the blending with it of that constantly growing religious enthusiasm which, as we saw, had modified the character of the Protestant church in the eighteenth century. When mediævalism had become almost a universal passion, it was natural that the religiously inclined should feel an

increasing reverence for the church which so admirably embodied the very essence of mediæval civilization.

Two documents best reflect this mood, Novalis' essay *Die Christenheit oder Europa* (written 1799) and Chateaubriand's *Le génie du Christianisme* (1802). Novalis' remarkable work, written by one who never joined the Church of Rome, is not a plea for Catholic dogma, but exhibits, rather, a passionate appreciation of the sensuous beauty of Catholicism, and a Rousseau-like love for simple-mindedness and faith:

Es waren schöne, glänzende Zeiten, wo Europa ein christliches Land war, wo eine Christenheit diesen menschlich gestalteten Welttheil bewohnte. . . . Mit welcher Heiterkeit verliess man die schönen Versammlungen in den geheimnissvollen Kirchen, die mit ermunternden Bildern geschmückt, mit süssen Düften erfüllt und von heiliger, erhebender Musik belebt waren Mit Recht widersetzte sich das weise Oberhaupt der Kirche frechen Ausbildungen menschlicher Anlagen auf Kosten des heiligen Sinns und unzeitigen, gefährlichen Entdeckungen im Gebiete des Wissens.

Similar in sentiment, but more scintillating in expression, is the panegyric on Catholic Christianity by that most brilliant representative of early French Romanticism, Chateaubriand. The *Génie du Christianisme* aims to obliterate the influence of Voltaire, and to return to the interpretation of history as represented by Bossuet's *Discours sur l'histoire universelle*. The claim is here advanced that "de quelque côté qu'on envisage le culte évangélique, on voit qu'il agrandit la pensée, et qu'il est propre à l'expansion des sentiments." Side by side with this fervid Catholic fought for a time the versatile August Wilhelm Schlegel. In his *Vorlesungen über schöne Litteratur und Kunst* delivered in Berlin 1801-4, in the lecture entitled "Malerei," he arraigns the critical spirit of the Reformation and complains of the modern lack of religious feeling and the sense for mysticism. The spirit of chivalry he calls "eine mehr als glänzende, wahrhaft entzückende, und bisher in der Geschichte beyspiellose Erscheinung," and adds "nicht bloss äusserliche Ehrerbietung vor der Religion, sondern eine ungeschminkte innige Frömmigkeit, gehörte zu den Tugenden der Ritter."

It was natural that in an atmosphere charged to such an extent

with love of the picturesque, the mystic, and everything mediæval, the architectural forms of the Middle Ages, especially the Gothic, should exert a constantly growing fascination. In England the Gothic traditions had never been altogether lost. Even Sir Christopher Wren, of whom we heard above as the representative of Palladianism, crudely imitated Gothic forms in the towers of Westminster Abbey and in two churches in London, St. Mary Aldermary and St. Dunstan's-in-the-East.¹ In 1741 Batty Langley published Part I of his *Ancient Architecture, restored and improved by a great variety of Grand and Useful Designs*, the whole work being entitled *Gothic Architecture*, with a dissertation "On the Ancient Buildings in this Kingdom." Its aim was to remodel Gothic architecture by the invention of five orders for that style, suggested by the styles of classical antiquity. However absurd this attempt may appear, it was a significant step in an important direction.

Stimulated, perhaps, by this new interest on the part of a professional architect, Sir Horace Walpole, the son of Robert Walpole and the friend of the poet Gray, about 1750 began to turn his villa at Strawberry Hill on the Thames into a miniature Gothic castle. He worked at this until 1770. Dilettante as the undertaking must seem today, it added a strong impulse to the reintroduction of Gothic architecture. In the meantime another was laboring more seriously in the same field. James Essex (1722-84) is perhaps the first architect whose work shows a correct appreciation of old English styles. He was engaged on a large book on the history of ecclesiastical architecture at the time of his death. James Wyatt (1746-1813) may be considered the real author of the revival of interest in Gothic forms in England. His rebuilding of the nave of Hereford Cathedral in 1786, and the erection of Fonthill Abbey in 1795, are among his most important works. About a generation after Wyatt's death (1821), Augustus Charles Pugin (1762-1832) began to publish his *Specimens of Gothic Architecture*. In this and in other works, such as drawings made on a trip to Normandy (1825), by a careful study of Norman architecture he swept aside the dilettantism in matters of Gothic

¹ Cf. Charles Eastlake, *A History of the Gothic Revival* (London, 1872), pp. 33 ff.

introduced by Walpole and his sympathizers. His great son, Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-52), then established the mediæval throughout England.¹

When Pugin was building his famous structures—i. e., during the first decades of the nineteenth century—Germany also was experiencing a mighty revival of the Gothic. Here the interest in mediæval architecture, though powerful at the start, was for a time modified by the influence of Winckelmann, then burst into renewed ardor, though imitation of the Greek never quite disappeared. That the temper of the rising generation of Germany at the time Essex and Wyatt were at the height of their activity in England, was largely in the spirit of the Gothic forms, is best attested by Goethe's youthful panegyric on the Strassburg cathedral, entitled *Von deutscher Baukunst* (1772):

Mit welcher unerwarteten Empfindung überraschte mich der Anblick als ich davor trat! Ein ganzer, grosser Eindruck füllte meine Seele, den, weil er aus tausend harmonirenden Einzelheiten bestand, ich wohl schmecken und geniessen, keineswegs aber erkennen und erklären konnte. Sie sagen, dass es also mit den Freuden des Himmels sei. Wie oft bin ich zurückgekehrt, diese himmlisch-irdische Freude zu geniessen, den Riesengeist unserer ältern Brüder in ihren Werken zu umfassen! Wie oft bin ich zurückgekehrt, von allen Seiten, aus allen Entfernungen, in jedem Lichte des Tags, zu schauen seine Würde und Herrlichkeit!²

The author of *Götz von Berlichingen*, then, sees in this structure a monument of the national spirit of the glorious past. The enthusiasm voiced by this essay was bound again and again to assert itself in spite of the authority of Winckelmann, so prevalent in the last two decades of the eighteenth century. At the very time of Goethe's strong reaction in favor of Greek ideals,³ Wilhelm Heinse,

¹ For further references on Langley, Wyatt, Essex, and the Pugins see the respective articles in *Dictionary of National Biography*.

² Hempel ed., Vol. XXVIII, p. 343. In 1775 he supplemented this essay by another entitled *Dritte Wallfahrt nach Erwins Grabe*, which is nothing more than a few pages of continued enthusiasm on Erwin, the builder of the Strassburg cathedral. (Hempel, *loc. cit.*, pp. 354 ff.)

Not even this early enthusiasm, however, implies on Goethe's part true understanding of the inherent nature of the Gothic. The young "Stürmer und Dränger," the author of the *Prometheus* and the *Faust*, admires the powerful personality which had conceived this mighty structure, rather than the edifice itself. At no time of his life, then, did he show an appreciation of the Gothic as a satisfactory art-form. (Cf. *Goethe's Werke*, ed. Heinemann [Leipzig and Wien, no date], Vol. XXII, Introduction by Harnack, p. 8.)

³ How far the reaction against the Gothic could go is shown by Goethe's *Bemerkungen zu Meyers Aufsatz "Ueber Lehranstalten der bildenden Künste"* (cf. Weimar ed., Vol. XLVII, p. 333): "Wer fühlte wohl je in einem barbarischen Gebäude, in den düstern Gängen einer gothischen Kirche, eines Schlosses jener Zeit, sein Gemüth zu einer freien thätigen Heiterkeit gestimmt?"

the author of the much-maligned *Ardinghello*, though himself an ardent adherent of the principles of Winckelmann, cannot suppress his genuine delight when viewing the same edifice that had inspired Goethe (1780):

Oben vor Sarburg erblickt man auf einmal noch zehn Stunden davon den Strassburger Thurm, der wie eine ungeheure Fichte, wunderbar noch von dem Riesengeschlecht der ersten Welt, in dem kleinen, neuern Wald, der davorliegt, entzückend frisch, und gesund und schlank zum Himmel emporsteigt Der Münster hat die lebendigste Form, die ich noch irgend je an einem Gebäude gesehen.¹

Nor was Heinse's admiration roused solely for the mediæval structures of his own country. Three years later, on his return from Rome, at the time when his love for antiquity had reached its zenith, he speaks with appreciation of S. Zeno in Verona, that fascinating Romanesque church which the eighteenth century (including Goethe) despised;² moreover, he calls the dome of Milan "das herrlichste Sinnbild der christlichen Religion."³

Even before Heinse, however, the painter J. H. Wilhelm Tischbein had exhibited great originality of taste in praising the dome of Milan, the building which Cochin regarded as the apex of Gothic folly:

Das ist ein heiliger Wald, von der Kunst aufgestellt, von Gottes Geiste bewohnt, . . . Von magischer Wirkung in dieser grossen Kirche ist die Dämmerung, welche durch die hohen, gemalten Fenster auf die Bildhauereien fällt.⁴

¹On Wilhelm Heinse, whom we now regard as the most important art-critic between Diderot and Friedrich Schlegel, cf. K. D. Jessen, *Heinse's Stellung zur bildenden Kunst und ihrer Aesthetik* (Berlin, 1901); for the passage referring to the Strassburg Cathedral, Jessen, pp. 48 f. Cf. also Sulger-Gebing, *Wilhelm Heinse* (München, 1903).

²Cf. Jessen, *loc. cit.*, p. 138.

³*Ibid.*, p. 108. In the first volume of his *Ardinghello*, that panegyric on the art of the High Renaissance, he again takes occasion to speak with praise of large Gothic churches. (Cf. Jessen, *loc. cit.*, p. 108.)

⁴Cf. *Aus meinem Leben*, von J. H. Wilhelm Tischbein, hrsg. von Carl G. W. Schiller (Braunschweig, 1861), Vol. II, pp. 3 ff. The originality of Tischbein and Heinse is thrown into proper relief by Goethe's bitter onslaught on the architecture of this building. In the *Teutsche Merkur* for October, 1788, pp. 38 ff., appeared his essay entitled "Zur Theorie der bildenden Künste—Baukunst" (cf. Hempel, Vol. XXIV, pp. 515 ff.), in which he says: "Leider suchten alle nordischen Kirchenverzierer ihre Grösse nur in der multiplizirten Kleinheit. Wenige verstanden diesen kleinen Formen unter sich ein Verhältniss zu geben, und dadurch wurden solche Ungeheuer wie der Dom zu Mailand, wo man einen ganzen Marmorberg mit ungeheuren Kosten versetzt und in die elendesten Formen gezwungen hat, ja noch täglich die armen Steine quält, um ein Werk fortzusetzen, das nie geendigt werden kann, indem der erfindungslose Unsinn, der es eingab, auch die Gewalt hatte, einen gleichsam

Others were soon to take up this note. Georg Forster, scholar and traveler, in 1790 visited Cologne and spoke of the dome—although at that time it was in a fragmentary and unsatisfactory condition—as a glorious temple. He experiences there “die Schauer des Erhabenen.” He adds: “Die Pracht des himmeln sich wölbenden Chors hat eine majestätische Einfalt, die alle Vorstellung übertrifft.” A Greek temple is the very symbol of harmony and refinement, but in a building like the great dome “schwelgt der Sinn im Uebermuth des künstlerischen Beginns.” Gothic churches, when compared with Greek structures, seem like “Erscheinungen aus einer anderen Welt, wie Feenpaläste.” He deeply regrets the unfinished and dilapidated state of the dome: “Wenn schon der Entwurf, in Gedanken ergänzt, so mächtig erschüttern kann, wie hätte nicht die Wirklichkeit uns hingearissen!”¹

But the ones through whose works this enthusiasm was to reach its culmination were the brilliant brothers, Friedrich and August Wilhelm Schlegel. Their essays and lectures, soon so widely disseminated throughout Germany, created a passion for the architectural masterpieces of the Middle Ages which affected high and low, and at last and forever established Romanesque and Gothic forms as equal in every respect, if indeed not superior, to the Greek. Friedrich, in his “Grundzüge der deutschen Baukunst, auf einer Reise durch die Niederlande, Rheingegenden, die Schweiz und einen Theil von Frankreich. In dem Jahre 1804 bis 1805,”² says:

Ich habe eine grosse Vorliebe für die gothische Baukunst; wo ich irgend ein Denkmahl, irgend ein Ueberbleibsel derselben fand, habe ich

unendlichen Plan zu bezeichnen.” As late as 1830, long after he had been in contact with the views of the Boissieres, he called this structure “eine Marmorhechel,” and significantly adds: “Ich lasse nichts von der Art mehr gelten als den Chor zu Köln; selbst den Münster nicht.” (Cf. G.-J., Vol. III, p. 10.) Moreover, the *Guide des étrangers dans Milan* (Milan, 1786), a book intended to glorify the beauties of the city, says of the dome: “L'Eglise Metropolitaine, quoiqu'elle ne soit certainement pas un monument du goût, ne mérite pas moins d'être observée par un voyageur curieux.” Also Valéry, in his *Voyages historiques et littéraires en Italie* (Brussels, 1835), a favorite guidebook of the time, says of the same church: “Le Dôme, avec ses cent aiguilles et les trois mille statues que l'on y voit perchées, n'est qu'un enorme colifichet, plus hardi, plus extraordinaire que beau” (p. 35).

¹ Cf. “Ansichten vom Niederrhein, von Brabant, Flandern, Holland, England und Frankreich,” *Sämmtliche Schriften* (Leipzig, 1843), Vol. III, pp. 26 ff.

² *Werke* (Wien, 1846), Vol. VI, pp. 179 ff.

es mit wiederhohlem Nachdenken betrachtet; denn es scheint mir als hätte man ihren tiefen Sinn und die eigentliche Bedeutung derselben noch gar nicht verstanden.

Greek architecture, he continues, has its advantages, but "die altdeutsche Baukunst [meaning the Gothic] verdient es wenigstens gewiss, dass man ihre noch unerforschte Tiefen zu ergründen strebe." Hence he speaks with deep veneration of Nôtre Dame, of the city hall of Louvain, and of the dome of Cologne.¹

August Wilhelm Schlegel, in his "Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Litteratur"² (delivered in 1808 at Vienna) also touches upon the subject of Gothic architecture.³ The Renaissance, he tells us, brought with it contempt for Gothic architecture. The Italians might be pardoned for such a view; "wir Nordländer aber wollen uns die mächtigen ernsten Eindrücke beim Eintritt in einen gothischen Dom nicht so leicht wegschwatzen lassen." He adds very wisely: "Das Pantheon ist nicht verschiedener von der Westminster-Abtei oder der Sct. Stephan-kirche in Wien, als der Bau einer Tragödie von Sophokles von dem eines Schauspiels von Shakspeare." Each is admirable in its way.

Stimulated by such utterances, Germany soon turned her attention to her mediæval remains as she never had done before. Sulpitz and Melchior Boisserée, partly through the encouragement of Friedrich Schlegel, devoted their energy to the interpretation of the older German art and architecture, and in 1810 even won over Goethe.⁴ As a result of Sulpitz's labors, the most majestic Gothic structure in Germany, the dome of Cologne, was completed in the spirit of its original architect.

In France, too, after gropings in the eighteenth century, love for the mediæval was ultimately established. Viollet-le-Duc (1814-79) labored for forty years with his pen and in his capacity as *inspecteur général* to save mediæval buildings from ruin

¹ In his *Geschichte der alten und neuen Litteratur* (printed in 1815) he compares the mediæval epics with the great monuments of Gothic architecture.

² First printed in 1809-11. *Werke* (Leipzig, 1846), Vol. V, pp. 11 ff.

³ As early as 1805 A. W. Schlegel wrote his sonnet "Der Dom zu Mailand," in which he expresses profound admiration for this building.

⁴ On the brothers Boisserée, see article in *A. D. B. and Sulpitz Boisserée* (Stuttgart, 1862), 2 Vols.

and neglect. At the same time, representatives of *belles-lettres*, too, were seized with love for mediæval architecture. So Prosper Mérimée wrote articles calculated to stimulate love for the antiquities of France, like his *Essai sur l'architecture religieuse du moyen âge, particulièrement en France* (1837), and his treatise entitled *L'Église de St. Savin* (1845).

It is clear that the views of Richardson, Cochin, and Mengs could not long continue to flourish at a time when all things mediæval were daily growing in intensity of fascination, and when emotional life was marvelously increasing in inwardness. While Cochin looked, in art, for technical mastery, intellectuality, and an adequate expression of refined worldliness, by the end of the eighteenth century an instinct had strongly asserted itself to turn to art for the manifestation of that mysticism, of that genuineness of feeling, of that spiritual depth, which had filled the author of *Parzival*, Dante,¹ and the builders of Nôtre Dame and the cathedral of Cologne. Hence Giotto, Fra Angelico, and even later masters like Perugino² were studied and revered as representatives of a lingering mediæval sentiment, not at all, as we should feel today, as bold and gifted innovators, as the exponents of an age constantly increasing in grasp of the phenomena of the visible world.³

The first feeble indications of such a change are found as far back as the middle of the eighteenth century. Even before Cochin and Mengs so forcibly formulated the *grand goût*, men

¹ The growth of interest in Dante, as is well known, was concomitant with the general growth of interest in mediævalism. Cf. Sulzer-Gebing, "Dante in der deutschen Literatur des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte*, Vol. IX (1896), pp. 457 ff., and *ibid.*, Vol. X (1896), pp. 31 ff.; also Hermann Oelsner, *Dante in Frankreich bis zum Endes des 18ten Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1898), chap. 3; also Kuhns, *Dante and the English Poets* (New York, 1904), chaps. 5-7.

² Not the attitude toward the old Italian masters merely, but that toward the old German painters as well, especially toward Dürer, was affected by the new point of view. This does not, however, concern us here. (For further information cf. Helene Stöcker, *Zur Kunstanschauung des 18ten Jahrhunderts* [Berlin, 1904], pp. 100 ff.) It may be noted here that Herder and his group were enthusiastic for Dürer, and that later F. Schlegel and the Boissierès made a profounder understanding general.

³ Because of this peculiar and characteristic view of the early Renaissance masters on the part of art-criticism of the first decades of the nineteenth century, it was necessary to sketch, cursorily at least, as was done above, the growth of mediævalism in the eighteenth century. We are still in need of a systematic and exhaustive study on that subject, undertaken from the comparative point of view.

appeared here and there in different countries who professed—or confessed, if you please—respect or even love for early Italian art. At the very time of Walpole's Gothic experiment, Gori, the great Florentine antiquarian, spoke with admiration of paintings on a background of gold, and Zanotti, the well-known Bolognese mathematician and connoisseur, condemned the mannerism of modern art and pointed to the simplicity of the older styles.¹ These feeble symptoms were soon followed by an admirable proof of true appreciation. An English artist, Thomas Patch, made careful drawings of the Masaccio frescoes in Sta. Maria del Carmine in Florence. These he etched and published in twenty-six plates, with the title *The Life of the Celebrated Painter Masaccio* (1770).² In 1772 he put out a series of etchings from the paintings of Giotto in the same church.³

Wilhelm Heinse, whom we met above as one of the appreciators of mediæval architecture, again appears among those who, in spite of dependence on Cochin and Mengs, here and there betray a genuine feeling for the art of the early Renaissance. During his visit to Italy (1780–83) he shows a total inability to understand Florentine painting. In his "Augenblickliche Anmerkungen auf meiner sehr schnellen Reise von Rom aus, ferner von Florenz nach Deutschland," he says (July 28, 1783): "Ihren [i.e., the Florentine] Mahlern fehlt es durchaus an schöner Gestalt und Form, und überhaupt an Verstand ein Ganzes schön und gross hervorzubilden," etc., etc.⁴ This is quite in accordance with the teaching of Winckelmann. Nevertheless Heinse is the first traveler in Italy who speaks with admiration of the now famous Bellini in S. Zaccaria in Venice:

Der Bellino von S. Zaccaria ist ein sehr interessantes Stück für die Geschichte. Die Venezianische Schule hat einen sehr braven Vorsteher gehabt. In den Figuren ist eine ähnliche Art Stil, wie bey Peter von Perugia, nur noch mehr Wahrheit und etwas Grösseres. Welch' ein

¹ Cf. Rumohr, *Drey Reisen nach Italien* (Leipzig, 1832), pp. 25 ff. Unfortunately, I lack the material to verify these statements made by Rumohr.

² Cf. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, sub Patch; and John Doran, "Mann" and *Manners at the Court of Florence 1740–86* (London, 1776), Vol. II, p. 220.

³ Modern criticism attributes these works to the school of Giotto rather than to the master himself.

⁴ Taken from the MS diary of Heinse as yet unpublished, to part of which I had access through the kindness of Archivrat Schüddekopf, of Weimar.

Kopf ist hier der Alte linker Hand! er würde Tizianen selbst Ehre machen, so kräftig ist er gemahlt und so warm und feurig.¹

To what an extent the interest in early art began to permeate even those circles most deeply affected by Winckelmann and Mengs appears in Goethe, who certainly, at the time of his Italian journey, was the representative *par excellence* of the classical spirit. To be sure, he, like Winckelmann, believed at all times in an ideal of beauty independent of time or nationality, and best represented by the Greeks. Among modern painters, Raphael most nearly attained such perfection. To Goethe, the early advocate of evolution, Raphael's predecessors, also, became interesting:

Um ihn [Raphael] zu erkennen, ihn recht zu schätzen, und ihn auch wieder nicht als einen Gott zu preisen, der wie Melchisedech ohne Vater und Mutter erschiene muss man seine Vorgänger, seinen Meister ansehen. Diese haben auf dem festen Boden der Wahrheit Grund gefasst sie haben die breiten Fundamente, eilig, ja ängstl. gelegt, sie haben mit einander wetteifernd die Pyramide stufenweise in die Höhe gebracht, bis zu letzt er, von allen diesen Vortheilen unterstützt, von einem himmlischen Genius erleuchtet die Spitze der Pyramide, den letzten Stein aufsetzte, über dem kein andrer, neben dem kein andrer stehn k_önn.²

Among these earlier masters three especially arouse his admiration: Mantegna, and in lesser degree Francia and Perugino. Of Mantegna he says:

In der Kirche der Eremitaner habe ich Gemälde von Mantegna eines der älteren Mahler gesehen vor denen ich erstaunt bin! Was in den Bildern für eine scharfe sichere Gegenwart ist lässt sich nicht ausdrücken. Von dieser ganzen, wahren (nicht scheinbaren, Effectklügenden, zur Imagination sprechenden), derben reinen, lichten, ausführlichen gewissenhaften, zarten, umschriebenen Gegenwart, die zugleich etwas strenges, eiliges, mühsames hatte gingen die folgenden aus wie ich gestern Bilder von Titian sah und konnten durch die Lebhaftigkeit ihres Geistes, die Energie ihrer Natur, erleuchtet von dem Geiste der Alten immer höher und höher steigen sich von der Erde heben und himmlische aber wahre Gestalten hervorbringen. Es ist das die Geschichte der Kunst und jedes der einzelnen grossen ersten Künstler nach der barbarischen Zeit.³

¹ Cf. Jessen, loc. cit., pp. 134 f.

² "Tagebücher und Briefe Goethes aus Italien an Frau von Stein und Herder," *Schriften der Goethe-Gesellschaft* (Weimar, 1886), p. 187. Cf., too Weimar ed. of Goethe. *Briefe*, VIII, p. 371.

³ Loc. cit., pp. 114 f.

Francia he calls "gar ein respektabler Künstler," and of Perugino he feels tempted to say "eine ehrliche deutsche Haut."¹

It is less surprising that Herder, though at the time indifferent to painting, should in 1789, in a letter from Italy, speak of "alte heilige Anfänge der Kunst," upon viewing, in the Campo Santo in Pisa, the frescoes by Francesco da Volterra, erroneously attributed by him to Giotto.² Had Herder been in a happier mood in Italy, and had he been better prepared to understand Italian art, he might have left us more important comments on the early painters. By temperament he seemed destined to be a pathfinder in this field, as he proved to be in so many others.

Even scholars in criticism, naturally more dependent on convention, began, toward the end of the eighteenth century, to feel the breath of that new spirit which was revolutionizing literature and politics. So Lanzi, in his *Storia pittorica della Italia. Dal risorgimento delle belle arti fin pressso al fine del XVIII secolo*³ has words of warm praise for Giotto, appreciates Masaccio as a great influence in the history of art, notes the beauty of the countenances of Fra Angelico's figures, is not indifferent to Giovanni Bellini's merits. All these men, however, are to him merely the forerunners of the golden age of art. How completely he is on a level with Cochin and Mengs in the essentials of art-criticism comes to the surface in the introduction (p. iii). Here he polemizes against former historians who went into minute details in describing the lives of lesser artists. It is different, he feels, with the "primi lumi dell' arte: in un Raffaello, in un Caracci par che anche le picciole cose prendan grandezza dal soggetto."⁴

Deeply rooted belief in the superiority of the Bolognese

¹ Loc. cit., p. 187. On this subject see also Heusler, *Goethe und die italienische Kunst* (Basel, 1891).

² Cf. Düntzer and F. G. Herder, *Herders Reise nach Italien* (Giessen, 1850), p. 379.

³ Edizione terza, Bassano, 1809.

⁴ Rumohr, in his *Drey Reisen*, claims that Lanzi in the introduction of the first and second editions (1792 and 1796) recommended to young painters the imitation of the older schools. I cannot verify this statement, as these two editions were not accessible to me. The introduction to the third edition contains no such passage.

Lanzi served as a model to Fiorillo, whose aim it was to describe every school of European art. His *Geschichte der zeichnenden Künste von ihrer Wiederauflebung bis auf die neuesten Zeiten* (Göttingen, 1798-1803) offers, however, nothing of sufficient originality to warrant a detailed treatment.

determines the views of another critic who, far better than even Lanzi, reflects the period of transition. Heinrich Meyer, "Goethe's prime minister in the Republic of Arts," is entirely unknown in English-speaking countries and not yet fairly appreciated even in his own.¹

Meyer based his opinions on what was for the time a very extensive acquaintance with art, ancient and modern. His every word proves a desire for impartiality of judgment. This sense of justice is, however, everywhere coupled with a certain pedantry—his is a heavy flight—and an inability completely to break away from the school in which he was trained. Yet, in spite of faults, he manifests decided originality, and certainly more objectivity than most of his brilliant successors. He makes an effort to do justice to all schools. This ideal becomes manifest

¹ Meyer was a Swiss. From 1778 to 1781 he took lessons in painting from Johann Caspar Füssli in Zürich, the same who had published Winckelmann's letters to his friends in Switzerland and Mengs' *Thoughts on Beauty and Taste in Painting*. So, during the formative years of his life, he came altogether under the spell of the Winckelmann-Mengs influence, which he never quite cast off. In 1784 he went to Italy. When Goethe met him in Rome (1786), Meyer had already made profound studies, and so impressed Goethe that the latter procured him a professorship in the "Freie Zeichenschule" in Weimar (1791). After another trip to Italy (1795-97), undertaken for the express purpose of further art studies, he collaborated with Goethe in an attempt on a large scale to acquaint the German public with all phases of art. Although, in continuance of the teachings of Winckelmann, the art of the ancients furnished the canon of criticism, considerable attention was given to the various phases of modern art. They labored at this task for many years, and in its spirit founded the *Propyläen*. Later their work in modern art was complemented, though in a very different sense, by that of the Schlegels. As Goethe and Meyer were in absolute accord, Meyer's views may be regarded as those of Goethe also, who thus, working constantly with Meyer, obtained a knowledge of Italian art infinitely greater than would appear from a perusal merely of the *Italienische Reise*. Proof of his extraordinary breadth of information on the subject is furnished first of all by the notes taken preparatory to his projected second trip to Italy (cf. Weimar ed. Vol. XXXIV, 2, pp. 192 ff.); furthermore by the appendix to *Benvenuto Cellini*. He here refers to Meyer's essay on Masaccio, and gives a "summarische Übersicht" of the predecessors of Cellini, in which men like Cimabue, Giotto, and especially Masaccio, are praised—yet regarded always as merely the forerunners of the great masters. In the *Geschichte der Farbentheorie: Geschichte des Kolorits seit Wiederherstellung der Kunst* he exhibited an astonishing acquaintance with even minute details of Italian painting. Not one of his contemporaries, in fact, controlled a greater amount of material than Goethe. Yet that he never outgrew Meyer's point of view is proved even in essays showing such mature and delicate insight as the one on Lionardi da Vinci's "Last Supper" (written 1818). Here Lionardi's predecessors and contemporaries are characterized as artists who worked "trefflich aber unbewusst . . . Wahrheit und Natürlichkeit hat jeder im Auge, aber eine lebendige Einheit fehlt," etc. (cf. Hempel, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 503 f.). Even in the article on Mantegna's "Triumph of Caesar" (written in 1823)—that masterpiece of interpretation—the epoch which produced M. is called one in which "eine sich entwickelnde höchste Kunst über ihr Wollen und Vermögen sich noch nicht deutliche Rechenschaft ablegen konnte" (cf. Hempel, Vol. XXVIII, p. 484). In 1826 he writes to Zelter, calling Giotto a "sinnlich-bildlich bedeutend wirkende Genius" (cf. *Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Zelter*, Vol. IV, p. 260).

even in an early essay, entitled *Beiträge zur Geschichte der neueren bildenden Kunst*.¹ Here Meyer gives a short survey of the growth of Italian painting, speaks of the importance of Giotto, then touches upon Donatello, Ghiberti, Masaccio, and Brunelleschi—the most interesting representatives of what to him is merely an epoch of transition. He next adds a very short statement of the main facts of the history of Venetian painting—Giovanni Bellini is to him the first important figure; and lastly adds a few words on the “Roman” and “Lombard” schools. To the latter, we are informed, the Carracci and their disciples gave immortal luster. All these statements reflect, with slight modifications, the views of Meyer’s contemporaries. He closes his essay, however, with a more detailed discussion of three artists—insignificant or even contemptible to the public of Cochin and Mengs: Bellini, Perugino, and Mantegna. With these, he evidently feels, his readers should be better acquainted. Bellini is no great genius,

hingegen ist er gemässigt, stille, immer nüchtern, ein unbestechlicher Freund der Natur und der Wahrheit . . . Einfalt und Innigkeit schmücken alle seine Bilder, und darum sind auch selbst die aus den frühern Jahren gefällig, ungeachtet sie noch in der alten trocknen Manier gearbeitet sind.

He subjoins a description of several of Bellini’s works, among them the one in the sacristy of the Frari church and the one in S. Zaccaria, both in Venice. In the latter we find “grösseren und edleren Geschmack,” in spite of occasional traces of the old style. Bellini’s art reached its climax, however, in the “Christ at Emmaus.”² Though Perugino, Meyer continues, remained more faithful to the old style, he deserves appreciation for re-introducing into painting some of that beauty and grace which had so long been absent from it. Raphael himself owed much of his greatness to Perugino. Again Meyer adds a description of several paintings. In Mantegna’s style Meyer praises “äusserste Bestimmtheit.” His earliest works are “hart, aber in einem hohen Grade geistreich” (a characteristic adjective for the critic of a

¹ Cf. Schiller’s *Horen* for 1795, neuntes Stück.

² In S. Salvatore in Venice. It is doubtful to modern criticism whether this painting is by Bellini.

time which knew *Kunstverstand*, but was but little acquainted with *Kunstgefühl*). Nevertheless, Mantegna never rose completely above the "Dürftigkeit und enge Beschränkung" of the older period and into untrammelled imitation of beauty. To prove his point, Meyer adds descriptions of some of Mantegna's characteristic productions.

To one familiar with modern views a few dry chapters on early masters must seem unsatisfactory indeed. Yet Meyer's essay is epoch-making in the history of art-criticism as probably the earliest systematic attempt on the part of a critic of the academic school to arouse interest in neglected artists. In 1800 Meyer complemented this essay by another, entitled "*Mantua im Jahre 1795*,"¹ in which he takes occasion to speak in terms of praise of various works of Mantegna.

In the same year (1800) he had published a more pretentious treatise, entitled "*Masaccio*,"² which aimed to explain the position of Masaccio in the history of painting, and in which he therefore sketches the work of leading men before and after the author of the Carmine frescoes. In Giotto's pictures

ging eine neue Welt auf, sie gefallen wegen der Einfachheit in der Darstellung, wegen der Naivität ihrer Motive, obschon das Vermögen nachzuahmen gering, der Ausdruck schwach ist, und wissenschaftliche Kenntnisse gänzlich fehlen.

He adds, however:

Ein überall durchscheinendes grosses Talent gewinnt unsere Zuneigung, und vergütet dasjenige reichlich was die strenge Kritik, gegen die Unvollkommenheit der Ausführung einzuwenden haben möchte.

Other masters, like Memmi, Gaddi, Orcagna, could not, Meyer insists, in spite of their improvements, rise "bis zum Schönen oder auch nur bis zum Zierlichen der Form." To make clear Masaccio's superiority over his predecessors, Meyer gives an appreciative description of some of Masaccio's frescoes. As, however, the full value of that painter can be understood only by a knowledge of his influence on the coming generation, Meyer next turns to a discussion of Fra Filippo Lippi, Botticelli and Ghirlandajo. The two last-named—Meyer treats them together—aimed at the rep-

¹ *Propyläen*, Vol. III, zweites Stück.

² *Ibid* erstes Stück.

resentation of "das Natürliche." They were often "überschwenglich reich an Sachen," "doch macht die fromme Unschuld und naive Anspruchlosigkeit in ihrem Wesen, dass sie . . . durch Einfalt gefallen." Ghirlandajo ist "äusserst wahrhaft." For Perugino Meyer claims "keiner hat mehr Gemüth und Innigkeit seinen Werken zu geben gewusst." All these artists learned from Masaccio. After him art improved technically, but lost "von Seiten des geistigen, bedeutenden Inhalts." He concludes with comments on Mantegna, Giovanni Bellini, Lionardo, and several masters of the High Renaissance.

We miss in this treatise the names of Fra Angelico and Luca Signorelli, and therefore cannot claim for its author a mature grasp on the evolution of Italian painting. Its peculiar significance, however, lies in the degree of feeling shown for the charm of simplicity—an appreciation prophetic of the tenets of a new school of criticism, hostile in all respects to Cochin and Mengs.

How Janus-faced Meyer was in his views, how original, and yet how dependent on the age of rationalism, shows most clearly in his *Entwurf einer Kunstgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts*.¹ In it, by way of introduction, he sketches the history of art in the seventeenth century. Here the Bolognese are praised as warmly and as foolishly as ever they had been by former critics. Domenichino is "der edelste Sprössling der Carraccischen Schule," Guercino is conspicuous for "grosse Wirkung und naive Wahrheit" (!), and Guido for "die heitere Weise und wunderbare Meisterschaft seiner Behandlung." But even Meyer cannot abide Pietro da Cortona. In another place Meyer brands Giotto's works as "kunstlos;" nevertheless, he admits one finds in them "Gedanken, die ohne alle Schlacken sind, des grössten Künstlers der gebildeten Zeiten nicht unwerth." He even once speaks of "Giotto und Gaddis Geist, Orcagnas Ernst und Tiefsinn, da Fiesoles Frömmigkeit, Ghirlandajos Wahrheit."² Nowhere in Meyer's essays is found any concession to the principle, which at the time was being made popular by Wackenroder and Fr. Schlegel, accord-

¹ It appeared together with Goethe's *Winckelmann und sein Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1805).

² In notes in MS dealing with "Geschichte der Kunst" (found in the Goethe-Schiller Archiv in Weimar), Meyer remarks on Fra Angelico: "Andacht, Innigkeit und reine kindliche Einfalt sprechen wunderbar anmüthig aus seinen Werken."

ing to which only religious art can lay claim to true inspiration and poetic worth. The child of rationalism could never have conceived such a notion and later even turned against it with severity,¹ when it threatened to control all criticism. Yet even Meyer himself once, at least, lapsed into a mood which strongly flavors of the ideas of the *Klosterbruder*. In a contribution to the *Propyläen*, entitled "Ueber Lehranstalten zu Gunsten der bildenden Künste," he says:

Wie günstig der christlich-religiöse Antrieb auf die bildenden Künste gewirkt hat, erhellet ferner daraus, dass sobald derselbe anfang schwächer zu werden, sie auch ihr höchstes Ziel erreicht hatten. Von dieser Zeit an suchten sie zu gefallen, oder eigentlich zu blenden und erhielten sich nur noch durch den Hang zur Pracht und Verschwendung.²

This from the worshiper of Domenichino and Guercino! Surely, the generation was feeling the breath of a new *Weltanschauung*.

And yet to what an extent dependence on the old standards prevailed far into the nineteenth century, and controlled persons very much more fierce and revolutionary of temperament than Meyer, is attested by certain essays by Stendhal.³ In his *Histoire de la peinture en Italie* (1817) he reflects a point of view akin, in spite of differences, to that of Meyer. For, like him, he continues the tradition of admiration for the Bolognese, but he exhibits genuine and often intelligent interest in the men of the early Renaissance. Thus, Cimabue's figures at times betray "une expression étonnante." Giotto even went beyond his master, as evidenced, for instance, by the frescoes in Assisi. Yet, on the whole, "ses tableaux ont l'air barbare." Masaccio appears to him "homme de génie, et qui a fait époque dans l'histoire de l'art." It is the virility of the man which appeals to this forerunner of Nietzsche. Like Lanzi, he calls Fra Angelico, because of his

¹ In his essay *Neu-deutsche religiös-patriotische Kunst*. Of all this more later.

² *Propyläen*, 1799, zweites Stück.

³ Henri Beyle, known in literature as Stendhal (1783-1842), lived in Milan from 1814-1821, and later became French consul in Trieste and in Cività Vecchia. He was passionately fond of Italy, and even preferred the Italians to his own countrymen. His chief importance lies less in his treatises on art than in his novels. For he is the forerunner of Balzac and Flaubert. I used for the *Histoire de la peinture en Italie* the "seule édition complète, entièrement revue et corrigée" (Paris, 1868); for the *Mélanges d'art et de littérature*, the edition Paris, 1867; for *Rome, Naples et Florence*, the edition Paris, 1865; for *Promenades dans Rome*, the "seule édition complète, augmentée de préfaces, et de fragments entièrement inédits" (Paris, 1873).

sweetness, the "Guido Reni" of his time, but he is too "Giottoesque" to be the equal of Masaccio. Benozzo Gozzoli and Filippo Lippi appeal to him much more forcibly; nevertheless, the century which they represent is to Stendhal, as it was to Lanzi, merely a period of preparation. But he felt that toward its close there were symptoms of an advance, as proved by the character of some of the side-wall pictures of the Sistine Chapel. Thus Stendhal became a leader in the revival of interest in those works so unjustly overlooked by generations of critics and travelers. Like Cochin, and even like Ruskin in his youth, Stendhal has little enthusiasm for Botticelli. On the other hand, he finds kindred souls in Ghirlandajo and Luca Signorelli because of their realistic power. It must, therefore, be a subject of wonder that the marrowless skill of the Bolognese should appeal to him, as is apparent in his *Rome, Naples and Florence* (1817). Less strange is it that Cochin and his whole fabric of the *bon goût* should cease to be for Stendhal the last court of appeal, should even offer elements of amusement.¹

In Heinse, in Lanzi, in Meyer, and in Stendhal the rationalistic instinct successfully represses the romantic, and all do homage to the tradition which placed the Bolognese in the front rank of artists. The first to protest against such veneration was one of the most distinguished personalities in the art-life of England, Sir Joshua Reynolds. This great portrait-painter, we saw, was one of the path-finders in the appreciation of Michel Angelo's greatness. Strength appealed to him, and mincing sentimentality was foreign to him. Hence it happened that he became the first among critics to deal a severe blow to that school whose exaggerated sweetness had delighted the age of Samuel Richardson and of Gessner. In the fifteenth "discourse," delivered before the Royal Academy in London as early as 1790—in other words, before Lanzi and Meyer had put themselves on record—he declared:

The Caracci, it is acknowledged, adopted the mechanical part with sufficient success. But the divine part which addresses itself to the imagination, as possessed by Michael Angelo and Tibaldi (!), was beyond

¹ Cf. review, written in 1835, of Colomb's *Journal d'un voyage en Italie en 1828*, found in the volume entitled *Mélanges d'art et de littérature*.

their grasp; they formed, however, a most respectable school, a style more on the level, and calculated for a greater number.¹

This utterance furnishes proof that before the end of the eighteenth century the time was becoming ripe for a school of criticism which would look for the "divine part" of painting far more than for the mechanical.

Indeed, at the very time when Reynolds thus expressed his dissatisfaction with the Carracci, a movement was being started in another part of Europe which ultimately swept away the rationalistic formula and established altogether new ideals.

Heinrich Meyer, the writer who occupied us above, tells us in his essay "Neu-deutsche, religios-patriotische Kunst,"² that about 1790 a strong interest in the older, simpler, and more religious masters arose among the German painters in Rome as a reaction against Mengs. Meyer says:

Von unserm Tischbein,³ woferne wir nicht sehr irren, ist nun zu allererst grössere Werthschätzung der ältern, vor Raphaels Zeit blühenden Maler ausgegangen. Dem Natürlichen, dem Einfachen hold, betrachtete er mit Vergnügen die wenigen in Rom vorhandenen Malereyen des Perugino, Bellini und Mantegna, pries ihre Verdienste und spendete vielleicht die Kunstgeschichte nicht gehörig beachtend, vielleicht nicht hinreichend mit derselben bekannt, ein allzufreygebiges Lob dem weniger geistreichen Pinturicchio der mit seinen Werken so manche Wand überdeckt hat. Tischbein und seinen Freunden wurde bald auch die von Masaccio ausgemalte Capelle in der Kirche St. Clemente bekannt. Zu gleicher Zeit forschte der gelehrte Hirt die in Vergessenheit gerathenen Malereyen des da Fiesole im Vatikan wieder aus, und Lips stach Umrisse von zwey solchen Gemälden in Kupfer.⁴ Wiewohl nun das eben erzählte

¹ Cf. *Works*, Vol. II, p. 100.

² First printed in Goethe's periodical *Ueber Kunst und Alterthum in den Rhein- und Mayn- Gegenden* for 1817, Heft 2, pp. 5-62 and 133-62; reprinted in Seuffert's *Neudrucke*, Vol. XXV, pp. 97 ff.

³ Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Tischbein (1751-1829), the same of whom we heard above as one of the "discoverers" of the dome of Milan, belonged to a well-known family of painters. He is the author of the famous portrait of Goethe in Italy. In Rome, where he resided for many years, he became closely associated with Goethe. In 1787 he moved to Naples, and from 1808 until his death he lived in Eutin. On Tischbein cf., too, Jul. Vogel, *Aus Goethes Römischen Tagen* (Leipzig, 1905), pp. 98 ff.

⁴ This statement is corroborated by a letter of Hirt to Goethe, written August 23, 1788 (cf. *Schriften der Goethe-Gesellschaft*, Band V [Weimar, 1890], p. 53): "Ich habe bereits alle Artikel für das erste Heft der periodischen Schrift fertig, die Herr Professor Moritz und ich zusammen herausgeben wollen [i. e., *Italien und Deutschland*]. Lips hat auch schon eine Platte hiezu gestochen, nemlich die Predigt aus der Kapelle des Fra Giovanni Angelico von Fiesole, wovon ich die Beschreibung machte." Hirt means the chapel of Nicholas V in the

auf wachgewordenes Interesse für die Werke des ältern Styls hindeutet, so hatten dieselben doch damals noch keinen Einfluss auf die Ausübung der Kunst, niemand betrachtete sie als Muster, oder wählte durch Nachahmung derselben den wahren Geschmack zu erlangen.¹ Ein bedenkliches erregendes Symptom aufkeimender Vorliebe für solche ältere Art, äusserte sich jedoch darin, dass gar viele Künstler, zumal unter den jüngeren, Raphaels nie unterbrochenes Fortschreiten in der Kunst ablängten, die Gemälde von der sogenannten zweyten Manier dieses Meisters, z. B. die Grablegung, die Disputa u. a. den späterverfertigten vorziehen wollten. Unter seinen Arbeiten im Vatikan wurde daher die genannte Disputa am häufigsten von Studirenden nachgezeichnet, auch genossen die Werke des da Vinci grössere Verehrung, als zuvor; . . . Dessgleichen wuchs die Gunst für die Arbeiten des Garofalo; hingegen gerieth die Achtung für Carraccische Werke ins Abnehmen, Guido Reni verlor ebenfalls sein lange behauptetes Ansehen immer mehr.

So ungefähr war es zu Rom mit den Geschmacks-Neigungen der Künstler und Kunstliebhaber, vornehmlich derer von deutscher Zunge, bis um das Jahr 1790 beschaffen.² . . . Um diese Zeit unternahm der Maler Büri, von Rom aus, eine Reise nach Venedig und durch die Lombardie über Florenz wieder zurück. Er hatte zu Venedig und Mantua die Werke des Bellini und des Mantegna fleissig aufgesucht, betrachtet, auch einige derselben nachgezeichnet, ein gleiches geschah von ihm zu Florenz mit Gemälden des da Fiesole und anderer alten Meister. Bey seiner Wiederkunft nach Rom gedachte er gegen Kunstverwandte der geschauten Dinge mit grossem Lob und beglaubigte solches durch die gefertigten Zeichnungen.³ Dieses bloss zufällige Ereigniss hat, nach

Vatican, in which are the famous frescoes by Fra Angelico; one of these—and perhaps the most beautiful—represents St. Stephen preaching. Many years later Hirt told Rumohr, the art-critic, of his discovery; cf. Rumohr's *Italienische Forschungen* (of which more later), Vol. II, p. 255 and note. (On Hirt cf., too, J. Vogel, *op. cit.*, pp. 243 ff., also p. 319; cf., too, Goethe's letter to Wieland, Weimar ed. of Goethe, *ibid.*, pp. 60 ff.)

¹ Rumohr evidently exaggerates when he claims (*Drey Reisen* [1832], p. 26) that Lanzi "hat vor etwa fünfunddreissig Jahren [i. e., about 1797] bei den Deutschen, welche damals in Rom studirten, zuerst für die Kunst des Mittelalters diejenige Achtung, bald Verehrung angeregt, welche die Kunstfreunde [i. e., Goethe and Meyer] unter die frühesten Symptome der bevorstehenden Umwälzung versetzen." The first edition of Lanzi's book did not appear until 1792, and we just saw that as early as 1788 Hirt was calling attention to the artistic importance of Fra Angelico. There is no reason for doubting, however, that Lanzi later greatly encouraged the German artists in Rome in their predilection for the works of the Early Renaissance, by his belief, mentioned above, that modern artists would profit by an imitation of older models.

² Meyer's date is slightly incorrect. There is no evidence that contempt for the Bolognese became manifest in this circle before 1790. It would seem more probable that such heretical ideas were not entertained until after the return of Bury from Florence.

³ Bury (not Büri, as Meyer calls him) himself writes of his impressions in the North in a letter to Goethe dated Florence, September 2, 1790 (cf. *Schriften der Goethe-Gesellschaft*, Vol. V, pp. 208 f.): "In der Gallerie ist bis jetzo mein Aufenthalt gewesen, und eine hübsche Zeichnung nach einem Gemälde von Frate gemacht (*sic*), 6 Portraits nach der hiesigen Künstler-Sammlung und viele Ideen von verschiedenen Meistern, aber die Hauptsache

unserm Dafürhalten, vielen Einfluss auf den Gang des Geschmacks gehabt; denn von derselben Zeit an sprach sich die Vorliebe für alte Meister, zumal für die der florentinischen Schule, immer entschiedener aus. Die vorerwähnten Freskogemälde des da Fiesole im Vatikan, wie auch die des Masaccio in der Kirche St. Clemente erhielten classisches Ansehen, das heisst: sie wurden nicht nur als ehrenwerthe Denkmale der emporstrebenden Kunst betrachtet, sondern von den Künstlern nun als musterhaft studirt und nachgezeichnet. Ferner wählte man, in der Absicht sich näher an Kunst und Geist der ältern Schulen und Meister anzuschliessen, für neu zu erzeugende Werke die Gegenstände schon häufiger aus der Bibel.

Einer der vorzüglichsten der auf diesem Wege sich bemühenden war Wächter aus Stuttgart, welcher mit lieblichen Gemälden heiliger Familien, wobey ihm Garofalo schien zum Muster gedient zu haben, mit einem Hiob u. a. m. grosses Lob bey Gleichgesinnten erwarb.¹

In spite of tendencies to the contrary, "pflanzte sich die Neigung zum Geschmack der ältern Meister vor Raphael, immer wachsend fort und erhielt durch die vom Calmücken Feodor in Umrissen nach Lorenzo Ghiberti radirte bronzene Thüre am Battisterium zu Florenz neue Nahrung." Meyer next speaks of the influence of Wackenroder's *Herzensergiessungen*, a book of which we shall presently hear more, and then adds:

Es fügte sich ferner dass, als nach den bekannten unruhigen Ereignissen, Rom, im Jahre 1798, von den Franzosen besetzt wurde, viele Künstler, um Beschwerlichkeiten und Störungen auszuweichen, sich von dort wegbegaben und, durch die Umstände genöthigt, Florenz zu ihrem Aufenthalt wählten, wo sie Gelegenheit fanden mit den ältern und ältesten Meistern dieser berühmten Kunstschule besser bekannt zu werden als in Rom hätte geschehen können. Giotto, die Gaddi, Orgagna,

ist mein Mantegna; ich kann Ihnen gar nicht sagen, wie mich der Mensch durch seine Bestimmtheit an sich gezogen; kein alter Florentiner kommt ihm mit all seinem grandiosen Wesen bei; denn dieselben haben es öfters mit ihren allzu grossen Falten übertrieben; es sind hier drey Gemälde von Mantegna, ich glaube nicht, dass Sie dieselben wegen der vielen Sachen in der Gallerie recht beobachtet haben, sonst hätten Sie mir in Mantua davon gesprochen; dieselben hab ich aufs aller bestimmteste gemacht, und Sie sollen sehen, wenn Sie die Zeichnungen bekommen, dass man nicht weiter kann wegen der Ideen; denn auch alle andern Meister, welche dieselben Sujets gemacht, sind weit unter ihm; ich fühle, dass mich Mantegna auf einen Weg geführt, welcher freilich im Anfang etwas mühsam ist, aber unfelhar etwas guts dabey herauskommen muss, und in Rom, welche ich fast nicht erwarten kann, einige Proben geben will (*sic*).¹ Bury himself was interested in the Carracci (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 12, 222, 223). For Goethe's feelings in regard to Bury, cf. Weimar ed., *Briefe*, Vol. VIII, pp. 329 f., 356, 378 f.; cf. also Jul. Vogel, *op. cit.*, pp. 130 ff.).

¹ Wächter was for a time the representative of German classicism in painting. He will interest us later as the one who probably transmitted to Overbeck the theories of the Tischbein-Bury group. On Wächter cf. *Allg. Dtsch. Biog.*

selbst andere von geringerm Namen und Verdienst, wie Buffalmacco, kamen dadurch, vielleicht in übertriebenem Masse, zu Ehren und manches ihrer noch übrigen, lange nicht mehr beachteten Werke wurde jetzt zum Studium und Muster von Künstlern erkoren, welche kurz vorher noch den Coloss des Phidias vor Augen gehabt.¹

In Tischbein and Bury, then, we have that preference for simplicity and naïveté of spirit which in future years was in so large a measure to control criticism in all countries. "The Spite of the Proud," as Ruskin later put it, is carefully to be shunned, and "simple and unlearned men," again to use one of Ruskin's telling phrases, are held superior to brilliant technicians and magnificent men of the world. The new principle implied in the views of the German artists—original as it is—is but a translation into the field of art of the gospel of the "simple life" enunciated by Rousseau and by the *Lyrical Ballads*.

Nevertheless, let us remember that, outside of this small circle, the old rationalistic formula—the rule of *Kunstverstand* as opposed to *Kunstgefühl*—still held almost paramount sway. The tenacious adherence to the old tenets on the part of Meyer, and especially of so rebellious a temperament as Stendhal, is the best case in point. A new evangel, one absolutely subvertive of all time-hallowed theories of criticism, was necessary finally and forever to break the yoke of Cochin and Mengs. It was enunciated in a little publication entitled *Herzensergiessungen eines kunstliebenden Klosterbruders* (Berlin, 1797).² The author who,

¹There is no good reason for doubting the authenticity of Meyer's statements, though here and there his memory may have failed him in detail. Contemporary evidence, as far as I can judge with the material at hand, seems everywhere to corroborate him. According to what we saw above, Meyer strains a point when he claims that a better appreciation of the old masters started with Tischbein, although he doubtless was the first person whose influence in this direction was felt in artistic circles. Tischbein himself, in the second volume of his *Aus meinem Leben*, commenting on the greatness of Lionardo, maintains that before the author of the "Ultima Cena" the art of painting "lag gefangen und konnte nicht aufstreiben." Lionardo freed it. After him came Michel Angelo, Titian, Raphael, Correggio, the Carracci, Guido, etc. But he adds: "Ich will hiermit nicht sagen, dass vor Leonardo nichts gutes gemalt sei;" only "die Künstler malten wie nach ausgeschnittenen Mustern, die sie nur auflegten, umschrieben und ausfüllten, oder als wäre es nach Schatten an der Wand gezeichnet und dann colorirt; so flach sind die Figuren auf der Tafel . . . Doch findet man sehr scharf gezeichnete, schöne Marienköpfe und Engel aus jener Zeit. Selbst einige Mosaiken sind ihrer Einfachheit und Grösse, sowie ihres Contoures wegen achtungswerth, obwohl trocken und armselig." All this hardly sounds like the talk of a rebel. We shall presently see, however, that the suggestions thrown out by Tischbein were to be carried farther than he himself intended, perhaps, by bolder minds than his.

²Cf. article on Wackenroder, *Allg. Dtsch. Biog.* (by Sulger-Gebing); also introduction by K. D. Jessen to his reprint of the *Herzensergiessungen* (Leipzig, 1904); also Koldewey,

in his rôle of a monk, pretends to give nothing more than the outpourings of his heart, views art essentially from the religious point of view:

Ich vergleiche den Genuss der edleren Kunstwerke dem Gebet Eben so nun, meyne ich, müsse man mit den Meisterstücken der Kunst umgehen, um sie würdiglich zum Heil seiner Seele zu nutzen. Es ist frevelhaft zu nennen, wenn jemand in einer irdischen Stunde, von dem schallenden Gelächter seiner Freunde hinwegtaumelt, um in einer nahen Kirche, aus Gewohnheit, einige Minuten mit Gott zu reden. Ein ähnlicher Frevel ist es, in einer solchen Stunde die Schwelle des Hauses zu betreten, wo die bewundernswürdigsten Schöpfungen, die von Menschenhänden hervorgebracht werden konnten, als eine stille Kundschaft für die Würde dieses Geschlechtes für die Ewigkeit aufbewahrt werden. Harret, wie beym Gebet, auf die seligen Stunden, da die Gunst des Himmels euer Inneres mit höherer Offenbarung erleuchtet; nur dann wird eure Seele sich mit den Werken der Künstler zu Einem Ganzen vereinigen. Ihre Zaubergestalten sind stumm und verschlossen, wenn ihr sie kalt anseht; euer Herz muss sie zuerst mächtiglich anreden, wenn sie sollen zu euch sprechen, und ihre ganze Gewalt an euch versuchen können.

Kunstwerke passen in ihrer Art so wenig, als der Gedanke an Gott in den gemeinen Fortfluss des Lebens; sie gehen über das Ordentliche und Gewöhnliche hinaus, und wir müssen uns mit vollem Herzen zu ihnen erheben, um sie in unsern, von den Nebeln der Atmosphäre allzuoft getrübbten Augen, zu dem zu machen, was sie, ihrem hohen Wesen nach, sind. . . . Es ist mir ein heiliger Feyertag, an welchem ich mit Ernst und mit vorbereitetem Gemüth an die Betrachtung edler Kunstwerke gehe; ich kehre oft und unaufhörlich zu ihnen zurück; sie bleiben meinem Sinne fest eingepägt, und ich trage sie, so lange ich auf Erden wandle, in meiner Einbildungskraft, zum Trost und zur Erweckung meiner Seele, gleichsam als geistige Amulete mit mir herum, und werde sie mit ins Grab nehmen.¹

As a result of this attitude, he points to the old Italian masters as praiseworthy examples:

Sie machten die Mahlerkunst zur treuen Dienerinn der Religion, und wussten nichts von dem eitlen Farbenprunk der heutigen Künstler: ihre Bilder, in Kapellen und an Altären, gaben dem, der davor kniete und betete, die heiligsten Gesinnungen ein. . . . Ein anderer, Fra Giovanni

Wackenroder und sein Einfluss auf Tieck (Leipzig, 1904); also Helene Stöcker *Zur Kunstanschauung des 18ten Jahrhunderts*, pp. 86 ff. Cf., too, R. Muther, *The History of Modern Painting* (London, 1895), Vol. I, pp. 209 ff.

¹Jessen's reprint, pp. 100 ff.

Angelico da Fiesole, Mahler und Dominikanermönch zu Florenz, war wegen seines strengen und gottesfürchtigen Lebens besonders berühmt. Er kümmerte sich gar nicht um die Welt, schlug sogar die Würde eines Erzbischofs aus, die der Pabst ihm antrug, und lebte immer still, ruhig, demüthig und einsam. Jedesmal, bevor er zu mahlen anfang, pflegte er zu beten; dann ging er ans Werk, und führte es aus wie der Himmel es ihm eingegeben hatte, ohne weiter darüber zu klügeln oder zu kritisiren. Das Mahlen war ihm eine heilige Bussübung; und manchmal, wenn er Christi Leiden am Kreuze mahlte, sah man während der Arbeit grosse Thränen über sein Gesicht fliessen.—Das alles ist nicht ein schönes Märchen, sondern die reine Wahrheit.¹

Here at last we find *Kunstgefühl* as opposed to *Kunstverstand*. In fact, it may be proved that Wackenroder's knowledge of the old masters was slender indeed. This book, which was soon to make a deep impression—upon Germany at least—marks the entrance into art-criticism of the principle, later so potent in Schlegel, Rio, and Ruskin, which claims that true art can never be divorced from religion. This principle, though at the time productive of important results in criticism, was, because of its essential unsoundness, later to lead—as, for instance, in Ruskin—to confusion and narrowness.

Wackenroder, retiring, hypersensitive, but meagerly acquainted with Italian painting, was ill equipped for the task of compelling a generation trained by Mengs and Meyer to accept principles so new, so perplexing, so uncomfortable. A different personality was needed to perform this task—one aggressive, turbulent, with a wider range of acquaintance in art, yet Wackenroder's equal in capacity of feeling: Friedrich Schlegel. In 1802, the very year in which Chateaubriand published the *Génie du Christianisme*, Friedrich Schlegel went to Paris. Napoleon had made of his capital the greatest art center of the world by carrying thither the spoils of Italy. In this fashion Schlegel came in contact with much of the best pictorial work of the world. As a result of this visit, he published his "Nachricht von den Gemälden in Paris,"² con-

¹ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 141 f. In Tieck and Wackenroder's *Phantasien über die Kunst* we find the same views, derived this time from a study of Dürer's art. "Aus solchen Beispielen wird man ersehen, dass wo Kunst und Religion sich vereinigen, aus ihren zusammenfliessenden Strömen der schönste Lebensstrom sich ergiesst" (cf. "Tieck u. Wackenroder," Karschner's *Deutsche National-Litteratur*, Vol. CXLV, p. 13).

² *Europa*, Vol. I (Frankfurt a. M., 1803), erstes Stück, pp. 108-57

tinued under the title "Vom Raphael,"¹ and furthermore under the title "Nachtrag italiänischer Gemählde;"² and further continued under the title "Zweiter Nachtrag alter Gemählde;"³ and again as "Dritter Nachtrag alter Gemählde."⁴ Here Schlegel roundly declares:

Ich habe durchaus nur Sinn für die alte Malerei, nur diese verstehe ich und begreife ich, und nur über diese kann ich reden . . . Und doch gesteh ichs, dass die kalte Grazie des Guido nicht viel Anziehendes für mich hat, und dass mich das Rosen- und Milch-glänzende Fleisch des Dominichino mit nichten bezaubert . . . Gewänder und Costume, die mit zu den Menschen zu gehören scheinen, so schlicht und naiv als diese; in den Gesichtern (der Stelle, wo das Licht des göttlichen Maler-geistes am hellsten durchscheint) aber, bei aller Mannichfaltigkeit des Ausdrucks oder Individualität der Züge durchaus und überall jene kindliche, gutmüthige Einfalt und Beschränktheit, die ich geneigt bin, für den ursprünglichen Charakter der Menschen zu halten; das ist der Styl der alten Malerei, der Styl, der mir, ich bekenne hierin meine Einseitigkeit, ausschliessend gefällt, wenn nicht irgend ein grosses Princip, wie beim Correggio oder Raphael, die Ausnahme rechtfertigt.⁵

Friedrich's famous "göttliche Grobheit" never made a deeper impression than by some of these utterances which slapped all traditional criticism in the face. But Friedrich was not satisfied with attacking, he wished to teach. He writes: . . . "die stille, süsse Schönheit des Johannes Bellin oder des Perugino geht mir über alles." And then he proceeds to discuss works by these artists and their contemporaries, as for instance Mantegna.⁶ But this great admiration does not in Schlegel stifle appreciation of Raphael, nor of Correggio and Titian. Not even Giulio Romano, the pet aversion of Rio and Ruskin, altogether meets with his censure.

¹ *Europa*, Vol. I, zweites Stück, pp. 3-19.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. II (1803), pp. 96-116.

³ *Ibid.*, zweites Stück, pp. 1-41.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 109-45. These essays were reprinted with modifications of wording and with additions, with the title "Gemähldebeschreibungen aus Paris und den Niederlanden, in den Jahren 1802-1804," in the *Sämmtliche Werke*, Vol. VI (Wien, 1823), pp. 1-220. For further reference cf. Sulzer-Gebing, *Die Brüder A. W. und F. Schlegel in ihrem Verhältnisse zur bildenden Kunst* (München, 1897).

⁵ *Europa*, Vol. I, 1, pp. 113 f. It is not unworthy of note that this essay, together with those on "Gothic Architecture," one on "Schloss Karlstein bey Prag," and one on "Die heilige Cecilia von Ludwig Schnorr," contained in Vol. VI of the *Werke*, appear under the collective title "Ansichten und Ideen von der christlichen Kunst." Rio, and after him Ruskin, were later to make the world familiar with the appellation "Christian art," so new in this large application to eighteenth century readers.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*, p. 115.

Schlegel's plea for the less pretentious artists of the older school corresponds to the principles enunciated a few years before him by the German artists in Rome. Even stronger deviations from the views of Meyer appear in passages which more clearly reflect the influence of Wackenroder. For what in Wackenroder was merely a childlike outpouring of feeling became, in the case of the Schlegels, the very corner-stone of their system of criticism. Their brilliant championship made them the true founders of that school which held sway until comparatively recent years. Friedrich Schlegel maintains:

Die Kunst aber, und die Religion von der sie nie getrennt werden kann ohne sich selbst zu verlieren, sollen dem Menschen nicht allein das Göttliche andeuten, wie er es rein von allen Verhältnissen und im heitern Frieden sich denken und ahnden kann, sondern auch in seinem beschränkten Verhältniss wie das Göttliche selbst im irdischen Daseyn noch durchbricht und auch da erscheint; . . . eigentlich fodern sollte man aber von einem Kunstwerke nicht Reiz und Schönheit, sondern nur die hohe, ja göttliche Bedeutung, weil es ohne diese gar kein Kunstwerk zu heissen verdient, und mit dieser die Anmuth als Blüthe und Lohn der göttlichen Liebe sich oftmals von selbst einstellt. Dieser hohen, tiefen Bedeutung aber sind die Martyria gewiss in einem ganz eminenten Grade fähig; wann der Mahler das Ekelhafte zu vermeiden weiss, so wird es ihm leicht werden, in diesem Gemisch von reinen und liebevollen Charakteren . . . ein nur allzuwahres Bild von dem Trauerspiel des wirklichen Lebens zu entwerfen, und dem Geschick, was die reinere Natur im menschlichen Verhältnisse meistens erwartet; wobei er, wenn er sonst will, immer noch Gelegenheit genug finden wird, uns an die höchste Schönheit und Liebe zu erinnern.¹

In every respect, then, the older painters, meaning the fore-runners of Raphael, should be regarded as furnishing the proper models. In them is found what we lack: "das religiöse Gefühl, Andacht und Liebe, und die innigste stille Begeistrung derselben war es, was den alten Malern die Hand führte;" and, significantly for a German romanticist to whom philosophy was tantamount to religion, he adds:

und nur bei einigen wenigen ist auch das hinzugekommen oder an die Stelle getreten, was allein das religiöse Gefühl in der Kunst einiger-massen ersetzen kann; das tiefe Nachsinnen, das Streben nach einer

¹ *Europa*, Vol. II, 2, pp. 16 f.

ernsten und würdigen Philosophie, die in den Werken des Leonardo und des Dürer sich freilich nach Künstlerweise, doch ganz deutlich meldet.¹

Is ever a great painter to arise in modern times? It is improbable, but not impossible. If so, religious feeling must again enter into art. "Vergebens sucht ihr die Mahlerkunst wieder hervorzu-rufen, wenn nicht erst Religion oder philosophische Mystik wenigstens die Idee derselben wieder hervorgerufen hat."² In lieu of religion, a few of the poets, supposedly tinged with mysticism—for to a Schlegel, even Shakespeare comes under this head—may become the inspiration of painters.

Weniger die griechische Dichtkunst, die sie doch nur ins Fremde und Gelehrte verleitet, und die sie nur in Uebersetzungen lesen, wo vor dem hölzernen Daktylengeklapper die alte Anmuth weit entflohen ist, als die romantische. Die besten Poeten der Italiäner, ja der Spanier, nebst dem Shakespear, ja die altdeutschen Gedichte, welche sie haben können, und dann die Neueren, die am meisten in jenem romantischen Geiste gedichtet sind; das seyen die beständigen Begleiter eines jungen Mahlers, die ihn allmählig zurückführen könnten in das alte romantische Land und den prosaischen Nebel antikischer Nachahmerei und ungesunden Kunstgeschwätzes von seinen Augen hinwegnehmen.³

Soon afterward, Friedrich's brother, August Wilhelm Schlegel, proved that he shared the same ideas. In his "Schreiben an Goethe über einige Arbeiten in Rom lebender Künstler,"⁴ in 1805, he discusses the works of the painter Schick, and praises his picture representing Noah's first sacrifice. He claims:

Ich kann nicht umhin, an diesem Beispiele die Vortrefflichkeit der biblischen und überhaupt der christlichen Gegenstände im Vorbeigehen zu berühren, die mir für die Malerei ebenso ewig und unerschöpflich scheinen, als die der klassischen Mythologie es für die Skulptur sind; ja in ihrer geheimnissvollen Heiligkeit noch unergründlicher.⁵

A little later he praises the painter Koch for imitating the older masters:

Ein besonderes Studium der älteren Meister, eines Fiesole, Masaccio, Pisani, Buffalmacco und Giotto, verbindet er mit dem des Michelangelo, welches für den Dante, denke ich, immer die rechte Verbindung sein wird.⁶

¹ *Europa*, Vol. II, 2, p. 143.

² *Ibid.*, p. 143.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 143 f.

⁴ First published in the *Intelligenzblatt der Jenaer Allgemeinen Litteraturzeitung*, Nos. 120 and 121. I quote from *Werke*, hsg. von Böcking, Vol. IX (Leipzig, 1846), pp. 231 ff.

⁵ *Loc. cit.* p. 234.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 237.

In 1817 he again expressed himself with undiminished enthusiasm in favor of early Italian art, in an essay entitled "Johann von Fiesole: Nachricht von seinem Leben, und Beschreibung seines Gemäldes Maria Krönung und die Wunder des heil. Dominikus."¹ He tries to define the position of the famous monk of S. Marco in the history of art. He describes his life, and, following Vasari and every writer on art since Vasari's day, lays stress on Angelico's piety. His genius, he tells us, is marked by "Süssigkeit, Zartheit und Anmuth," as contrasted with "der gefälligen und oberflächlichen Manier des Guido."² In the course of this essay he attacks Winckelmann's unfair condemnation of the harshness of Florentine art.³ Modern art, he concludes, fails from lack of religious inspiration; for

die Kunst als ein Widerschein des Göttlichen in der sichtbaren Welt, ist eine Angelegenheit und ein Bedürfniss der Menschheit, an welche, nach dem Ausdruck Dantes von seinem Gedicht:

—il poema sacro,

Al quale ha posto mano e cielo e terra—

Himmel und Erde Hand anlegen müssen, wenn sie gedeihen soll.⁴

As a consequence of the teachings of Wackenroder, and more especially of F. Schlegel, a group of German artists, under the leadership of Overbeck and Cornelius, settled in Rome for the purpose of putting into effect the new ideas. At first they lived in a monastery, St. Isidoro, and were known as "Die Klosterbrüder von St. Isidoro." This group dissolved in 1813, and after 1815 a new circle formed about Overbeck, generally known by their nickname "Die Nazarener." Wackenroder and the Schlegels had taught these young artists that simplicity and self-severity and a deep spiritual life, are necessary for the production of true art. Their attitude toward early Italian art was essen-

¹ *Werke*, loc. cit., Vol. IX, pp. 321 ff.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 352 f.

³ Cf. Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, Vol. III, chap. 3, § 15. Even more severe are his strictures on Florentine art as expressed in the letter to Riedesel, dated Rome, March 18, 1763; cf. *Werke*, ed. Eiselein, Vol. IX, pp. 616 f.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, p. 355. In the third part of *Geschichte der Romantischen Litteratur*, in the chapter "Ueber das Mittelalter" and further in "Der Bund der Kirche mit den Künsten"—a long poem in ottave rime written about 1800—Schlegel foresees a new art born of the religious spirit. Painting is to abandon the world of sense and deal with "geistliche Geschichten." Haym (*Romantische Schule*, p. 458) justly doubts the genuineness of the religious sentiment here exhibited.

tially that of Bury and of the other associates of Tischbein.¹ They recognized only the artists between Giotto and Raphael, and even Raphael's later manner, after he abandoned the teaching of Perugino, seemed to them an aberration. Giulio Romano was intolerable to them.² These views are singularly important for us, as they later controlled Rio, Ruskin's inspirer. The result of the labors, which occupied them many years, must seem to us moderns essentially unsatisfactory. In the history of art, however, they mark an admirable reaction against the shallow glamour of the eighteenth century.³ Their dependence on F. Schlegel becomes the clearer by the fact that one of their most prominent members was Schlegel's stepson, Philip Veit.

So, then, the new criticism seemed established, and even the protest of Goethe and Meyer against the union of art and religion apparently could not destroy the influence of the brilliant brothers. And, indeed, these two had greatly enriched the intellectual life of their generation; their very faults had proved fruitful of important results.

¹The connection between the Tischbein group and the Nazarener was, it seems, established by Eberhard Wachter, of whom, as we saw, Meyer, in his *Neu-deutsche religions-patriotische Kunst*, spoke as one of the Tischbein circle, and as one who among the first produced works in the spirit of the older masters. In 1806, before Overbeck came to Rome, Wachter met him in Vienna, and seems to have communicated to him the views and prejudices of the German painters in Rome (cf. Gurlitt, *loc. cit.*, p. 213).

²Cf. Gurlitt, *loc. cit.*, p. 215.

³Cf. Herman Riegel, *Geschichte des Wiederauflebens der deutschen Kunst zu Ende des 18. und Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Hannover, 1876), pp. 319 ff.; also Gurlitt, *Die deutsche Kunst*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 58 ff., 212 ff., 233 ff.; moreover, Muther, *History of Modern Painting*, *loc. cit.*; also Howitt, *Friedrich Overbeck* (Freiburg i. B., 1886); also essays on Overbeck and Cornelius in *Allg. Dtsch. Biog.*

In 1817 Goethe and Meyer, frightened by the success of Schlegel's criticism and the works of the "Nazarener," published their essay, *Neu-deutsche, religions-patriotische Kunst*, from which we have already quoted several passages. It aimed a blow at the new ideas, but it showed beyond peradventure that neither Goethe nor his friend was capable of piercing the crude shell of the new principles and of understanding that Schlegel's message was vital for his time, and that Overbeck and Cornelius, with all their shortcomings, were establishing, in contrast to Mengs, a national art. It was, in fact, the example of this school which, forty years later, helped to free from the trammels of academic pedantry a group of young English artists who became known as "The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood." The hyphen between German and English Pre-Raphaelitism was William Dyce, who had learned from Overbeck (cf. Gurlitt, *Die deutsche Kunst*, *loc. cit.*, p. 303; also *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* under Dyce). Howitt (*Overbeck*, Part II, p. 115) claims that Pugin, too, strongly recommended Overbeck as a model to English artists.

For interesting material on the lives of the Overbeck group in Rome, cf. *Briefe aus Italien von Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld, geschrieben in den Jahren 1817 bis 1837: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte seines Lebens und der Kunstbestrebungen seiner Zeit* (Gotha, 1886). For a French estimate of the "Nazarener" cf. H. Fortoul, *De l'art en Allemagne* (Paris, 1842), Vol. I, pp. 263 ff.

Yet it would have been far from fortunate for their country, had their ideas prevailed unmodified, and Germany must therefore be congratulated for having produced a scholar and critic who took from the teaching of the Schlegels all that was valuable, and left untouched all that was misleading and unsound. This remarkable man was Rumohr.¹ His *Italienische Forschungen*, based on the studies of many years, aimed to do for Christian art what Winckelmann's *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* had done for the art of antiquity. Vasari, Rumohr felt, was unreliable, because, being influenced by the technique of the Italian novelists of his day, he was entertaining, but lacked method. Even Lanzi, despite his great merit, was not sufficiently thorough. Besides, Rumohr, having become acquainted with the work of the Schlegels and of Overbeck, felt vastly more attracted by the earlier periods, and less by the seventeenth century, than did even Lanzi.

Rumohr's great work is characterized, considering the time in which it was written, by accuracy and care, his statements being always based on intimate study of the Italian archives. The notes reveal a large range of reading and the desire to reach the truth by an objective sifting of arguments.

In the theoretical part of the book, entitled "Zur Theorie und Geschichte neuerer Kunstbestrebungen: Haushalt der Kunst," he emphasizes the fact that Lessing and Winckelmann derived

¹ Karl Friedrich von Rumohr was born in 1785 in Reinhardtsgrimma, near Dresden, and died in Dresden in 1843. While a student at Göttingen, he took lessons in drawing of Domenico Fiorillo, the author of the *Geschichte der zeichnenden Künste von ihrer Wiederaufhebung bis auf die neuesten Zeiten*. Fiorillo was a pupil of Batoni, and ranged against Mengs in the quarrel between the two. Rumohr at the death of his father inherited a large fortune, became a gentleman of leisure, and devoted himself to literature and art. Early in his life he turned Catholic, but this change of religion no more affected his inner life than a similar step had affected Winckelmann. He went to Italy several times. During a stay in Rome in 1816 he came in contact with the work of Overbeck and his associates, and thus deepened his interest in early Italian art. He published a large number of essays and studies on art and architecture. His greatest work is his *Italienische Forschungen* (Berlin and Stettin, 1827-31), in which several of these earlier publications were embodied. Besides works bearing on art or history, he put out historical novels, like *Der letzte Savello* (1834). More than that, being a great Sybarite in matters of food, he issued a cookbook, *Der Geist der Kochkunst* (1822). His large culture procured him the friendship of men like Friedrich Schlegel, Tieck, Wilhelm von Humboldt, Platen, and others. He was also highly esteemed by Louis I of Bavaria and Frederick William IV of Prussia. His eccentric temperament, however, was apt to estrange even great admirers. On Rumohr see his own *Drey Reisen nach Italien* (Leipzig, 1832); also H. W. Schulz, *Karl Friedrich von Rumohr, sein Leben und seine Schriften* (Leipzig, 1844); also Gurlitt, *Die deutsche Kunst*, pp. 137 ff.; also *Allg. Deutsch. Biog.*

their ideas from a knowledge merely of antiquity. He adds the sentence, significant for his whole method of work: "Denn nur, wer von einer beschränkenden Vorliebe für eigenthümliche Richtungen, Schulen und Förmlichkeiten der Kunst unabhängig ist, vermag das Wesen der Kunst rein aufzufassen." Rumohr's criticisms of the great exponents of antique art are, however, altogether free from that violence which affects us unpleasantly in Fr. Schlegel's comments on Winckelmann. For it is most important, Rumohr feels, that we learn to understand the true nature of art. As a contemporary of Tieck and Fr. Schlegel, he is inclined "die Kunst weit entschiedener, als jemals vor uns geschehen, recht in das innerste Heiligthum alles geistigen Wirkens und Lebens zu versetzen."

In the chapter entitled "Betrachtungen über den Ursprung der neueren Kunst" he expounds the value of the beginnings of Christian art. Though technically deficient, these earliest works are characterized by the "Macht einer neuen Begeisterung," which was to determine Christian art for all time to come. In the discussions which follow, Rumohr traces the influence of pagan on Christian art, and betrays a keen appreciation of evolution by proving how early suggestions flowered full-blown in the works of the greatest masters of later centuries. Even in these chapters Rumohr never teaches the theory that art becomes important and inspiring in proportion as it reflects devotion to Christian dogma, and loses value in proportion as such devotion ebbs from it. In the remaining chapters of this volume—"Ueber den Einfluss der gothischen und longobardischen Einwanderungen auf die Fortpflanzung römisch-altchristlicher Kunstfertigkeiten in der ganzen Ausdehnung Italiens," "Zustand der bildenden Künste von Karl des Grossen Regierung bis auf Friedrich I . . . ," "Zwölftes Jahrhundert: Regungen des Geistes, technische Fortschritte bey namhaften Künstlern," "Dreyzehntes Jahrhundert: Aufschwung des Geistes der italienischen Kunst; rascher Fortschritt in Vortheilen der Darstellung . . ."—the author describes the growth of various branches of art in Italy down to Cimabue. In no part of the whole work is one more impressed with Rumohr's infinite care and intellectual honesty than in these studies on

perhaps the most difficult periods of modern art. No wonder he constantly feels compelled to polemize against Vasari, and even against Lanzi and Fiorillo.

In the second volume the initial chapter treats of the earliest Sieneese masters and Cimabue. In the next chapter, which is devoted to Giotto, Rumohr makes a great effort to disprove the validity of the general admiration for that artist. In the epitome of this discussion he comes to the conclusion that, though Giotto's merit was great, he helped to bring about "jene allmählich fortschreitende und immer zunehmende Entfremdung von den Ideen des christlichen Alterthumes" which marks the Florentine school, "etwa mit Ausnahme des Fiesole und des Masaccio." This chapter is perhaps the least satisfactory of the book. Here Rumohr loses his objectivity, and even lapses, as the sentence just quoted illustrates, into some of that phraseology about the inferiority of realistic to religious art which is generally so foreign to him. Next Rumohr adds a careful treatment of the disciples of Giotto.

Among the chapters which now follow, the one which we may call the core and kernel of the entire work, and which made the deepest impression on the contemporaries, is the one entitled "Entwurf einer Geschichte der umbrisch toscanischen Kunstschulen für das funfzehnte Jahrhundert." Here all those men of the early Renaissance are passed in review who through Ruskin have become the favorites of the English-speaking world. Again Rumohr at every turn goes beyond Vasari and Lanzi, and brings to light important new material. He was not the first to be attracted by these artists, as we have seen, but he became—to use the words of his biographer Schulz—"der wissenschaftliche Vertreter und Begründer der neuen Kunstansichten und Bestrebungen." The imitators of Giotto—such is Rumohr's thesis—had induced artists to treat the human side of religion, and had thus introduced so much "menschlich Wichtiges" that, on the whole, their innovations must be regarded as a "wesentliche Bereicherung." Yet these methods and theories did not arise from any desire "den Ideen des Christenthumes ihre ganze Tiefe, ihre ernstere Seite abzugewinnen." Masaccio and Fra Angelico represent two currents of the new art. Masaccio "übernahm die Erfor-

schung des Helldunkels, der Rundung und Auseinandersetzung zusammengeordneter Gestalten;" Fra Angelico "hingegen die Ergründung des inneren Zusammenhanges, der einwohnenden Bedeutung menschlicher Gesichtszüge, deren Fundgruben er zuerst der Malerey eröffnet." Then Rumohr enters with acumen into the individualities and the historical position of both artists. Masaccio's strength and virility, and his importance for art down to Lionardo, had never before been so well understood; at the same time, Fra Angelico's peculiar depth was never more sympathetically felt, not even by Schlegel. In his best works "erschöpfte sich dieser Künstler in den mannigfaltigsten Andeutungen einer mehr als irdischen Freudigkeit." Fra Angelico influenced Benozzo Gozzoli, for whom Rumohr has evident understanding.

The career of Cosimo Roselli and other minor painters proves that "nach allgemeinem Erlöschen der Begeisterung für die vorwaltenden Kunstaufgaben" only one way was left for the Florentine school to escape becoming mechanical, viz., "ein fröhliches (freylich nicht ein pedantisches) sich Hingeben in den Reiz natürlicher Erscheinungen." Fortunately, the city in which these artists lived was fine, the country lovely, the dress of men and women picturesque. Hence painters derived from the new method "den mannigfaltigsten Gewinn." This inroad of the realistic spirit was encouraged, he explains, by the influence of antiquity.

Filippo Lippi, whom Vasari without proof calls dissolute, was one of the "bedeutenderen Maler" of the Florentine group. His easel pictures are often "schwach, bisweilen derb und gemein;" but in his frescoes, where the subject called for action, "erwachte seine Seele." Botticelli and Filippino fare less well with our critic. He admires the history of Moses in the Sistine Chapel, but has little to say in praise of any other works of Botticelli which charm us today. Filippino is uneven; some of his paintings fairly disgust Rumohr. Ghirlandajo, on the other hand, attracts him. He greatly contributed to a better understanding of the human figure. Rumohr has great praise for many of Ghirlandajo's frescoes, especially those in the Santa Maria Novella in Florence, for their adequate interpretation "wirklichen Seyns." The thrift of Florence, Rumohr points out, helped realism in art.

When "Religiosität der Gesinnung" had left the Florentine church and a sectarian spirit had grown up (proved, among other things, by the career of Savonarola), "war es sicher nur ein Gewinn, dass bey den malerischen Unternehmungen jener Zeit eine neue Begeisterung (die bürgerliche) die eingetretene Lücke erfüllte." It is this "Begeisterung" which gives the Novella frescoes their peculiar value. To be sure, Ghirlandajo was too "derb" altogether to grasp the "Zartheit der neuchristlichen Idee der Madonna."

In Lionardo—always admired, but heretofore not sufficiently appreciated—we venerate "den Begründer eines bestimmteren anatomischen Wissens," who combines with this great technical knowledge a "reinere, ernstlicher gemeinte Auffassung der obwaltenden kirchlichen Kunstaufgaben."

The school of Perugia, which perhaps affected Lionardo through Perugino, always had the advantage of other schools in possessing an irresistible "geheime Reiz" derived from a wonderful blending of "halbdeutliche Reminiscenzen" of the oldest Christian art with the "mildere Vorstellungen" of younger schools. Perugino became famous largely on account of his influence on Raphael. His own merit has so far generally been underrated. In his later years, he, like many others, became mechanical, "vom Handwerke hingerissen;" but in his best work—the frescoes in Santa Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi—he combines severe study with a "damals ganz ungewöhnliche Klarheit der Anschauung seines ideellen Gegenstandes." A certain sameness runs through all he painted—the result not so much of his "Manier" as of his subjects and his "Gemüthsstimmung."

Raphael, the "vollendete Meister" of the art of painting, owes his "keusche Sinn," his respect for tradition, his religious feeling, probably mostly to Perugino; his "feine Natursinn" he derived from Florentine influence.

In the last chapter of this volume, entitled "Die unumgängliche Vielseitigkeit in den Beziehungen, die Hindernisse der Entwicklung, die Ursachen des vorzeitigen Verfalles," Rumohr first introduces a sympathetic discussion of Sodoma, maligned, he claims, by Vasari. Then follows a very interesting treatise on the effect of

antiquity on Italian art from early times. He shows how the widening of the province of art, caused by the influence of antiquity, came about from the "Steigerung eines Verlangens" which gleams even in the works of the Middle Ages, and asserts itself clear and strong in the fifteenth century. The antique world furnished Raphael with a mass of heterogeneous material, such as myth, fable, allegory, etc., which he used with great liberty and interpreted with the *verve* of Apulejus and Ovid; correctly feeling that it should not be treated with severity and in the spirit of religion, but in worldly and poetical fashion. It is only within recent times that the theory has arisen that such treatment is idle and inartistic. This last remark is leveled, of course, against the Schlegel-Overbeck school of criticism. Rumohr is evidently more nearly in harmony with Meyer and Goethe than would appear from his bitter polemics against them.

The ancients, Rumohr continues, correctly felt that the appearance of things about us have a "sinnliche Reiz an und für sich," apart from any "Bedeutung." Among moderns the Dutch were the most successful in giving us this "Schwelgerey des Auges." To furnish such delight is perfectly legitimate. For it is an artist's duty to satisfy any honest demand of his time.

The premature decay of Italian art Rumohr explains by the exaggerated "Zunftgeist;" also by the tendency in the sixteenth century to hire artists to furnish work in the shortest possible time. These theories, however insufficient they may appear to modern students of culture-history, are noteworthy as marking Rumohr's freedom from the principle so dear to Wackenroder and Schlegel: the dependence of art on religion.

The third volume deals mostly with Raphael. It rather disappointed the public. Yet Herman Grimm in his treatise on Raphael claims that Rumohr's chapters on Raphael contained material of the first importance.

Of particular interest to us, however, is the fact that Rumohr nowhere condemns any of Raphael's later works on the ground of worldliness, as had done Tischbein and all his followers, and that even the "Transfiguration" meets with his unstinted praise.

The Bolognese masters, whose good points Rumohr seems to

recognize—he speaks of them as “technisch höchst gewandte Männer”—evidently do not satisfy him. He mentions them only casually, and in one place blames them for not understanding that eclecticism such as they aimed at was absurd.

The volume closes with interesting chapters on the evolution of Christian architecture, and a short essay on “Arabische Baukunst.”

We miss most in Rumohr's book any study of the Venetian school. His principle was, however, to treat exclusively of those works which he knew from intimate personal observation; hence his omission, too, of artists like Francia.

We have transcribed merely what seemed to us most characteristic in Rumohr's volumes—we omitted even his comments on the great Italian sculptors—but what has been given may suffice to enable the reader to appreciate the nature of Rumohr's contribution. He was the first to devote critical study to the earliest periods and, what is more important, to the artists of the fifteenth century; thus laying the scientific foundation for the modern criticism of Italian art, and utterly destroying the influence of Cochin and Mengs. Like Tischbein, Wackenroder, and Schlegel, he was deeply interested in the simplicity and naïveté of the religious painters. Yet the criticism, which Goethe and Meyer best represented, against the vagaries of Schlegel and Overbeck acted on him as an admirable corrective.¹

Rumohr, today almost forgotten, attracted wide attention during his lifetime, and affected not merely his own countrymen, but even foreigners. The person who was to profit from the *Italienische Forschungen* beyond anyone else was not a German, but one of those Frenchmen—and every generation has produced them—for whom German civilization has strong fascination—A.-F. Rio.²

¹The next scholar of importance to carry on Rumohr's work was Franz Kugler. In his *Handbuch der Geschichte der Malerei von Constant'n dem Grossen bis auf die neuere Zeit* (Berlin, 1837) we find the evolution of painting described in its entirety. In 1842 followed his *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, which became basic for all modern works in the field of art-history.

²Alexis-François Rio was born in Normandy in 1798 and died in 1874. From his earliest childhood he showed a strong religious bent. This instinct in him was fed by the reaction against the contempt for religion preached by the French Revolution and implied by

To Rio, as to many men and women of his time, Catholic doctrine was not merely sacred and final, but the carrier of superhuman bliss and serenity. He was, moreover, one of those souls on fire who, in protest against the rationalism of the eighteenth century, were making inevitable in every part of Europe the creation of a new art and a new philosophy. No wonder, then, that early in life he felt dissatisfied with the eighteenth-century interpretation of Italian art. In France the æsthetic tradition represented by Cochin was still potent, he tells us, in his youth. Admiration for the Carracci—which, we saw, Stendall himself could not shake off—was “une sorte de maladie” among Frenchmen.¹ For even the distinguished author of the *Génie du Christianisme* in Rome and in Bologna adored the works of the Carracci and, more curious still, in Rome despised the æsthetic standards of Overbeck and his disciples;² he regarded merely as “blasphèmes” their estimate of

Napoleon's treatment of the Pope—the reaction so brilliantly voiced by Chateaubriand. During the “Cent Jours” he fought “pour Dieu et pour le Roi.” For a time he taught, then occupied a government position. After his marriage he seems to have devoted himself to his studies. He made many trips to Germany—those of 1831, 1832, and 1833 proving the most fruitful. Here he came under the influence of Schelling, and especially of the philosopher Baader. The former impressed him particularly by his doctrine of the importance of the artist as a cultural and spiritualizing force. Even stronger was the influence upon him of Baader's views, deeply tinged as they were with mysticism. Rio's veneration for orthodox Catholicism grew more and more profound with time, and even led to a rupture with his friend, the famous Lamennais. In Munich Dollinger called his attention to Rumohr's *Italienische Forschungen*, which had just appeared. The book gave direction to his groping, but intense interest in Christian art. German thought further influenced him through the writings of men like Hamann, Jean Paul, and others, who intensified his temperamental dislike for the rationalistic *Weltanschauung*. In Italy, which he visited several times, he became acquainted in 1832 with several representatives of the German school of painting who, years before, had fanned Rumohr's interest in the older masters. In 1833 he met Sulpiz Boisserée in Coblenz and Ph. Veit in Frankfort on the Main; in 1842 he made the acquaintance of Cornelius in Berlin. In 1836 came out the first volume of the work in which he aimed to give to the world a new interpretation of Italian art. He gave it the infelicitous title: *De la poésie chrétienne dans son principe, dans sa matière et dans ses formes. Forme de l'art. Peinture* (Paris, 1836). It was to appear in two volumes, but the ill success of the first volume for a time discouraged him. From 1836 on he frequently visited England. At last he published the second volume in 1851, with the title *De l'art chrétien* (Paris). Among his other publications should be named: *Essai sur l'histoire de l'esprit humain dans l'antiquité* (1828-30); *Léonard de Vinci et son école* (1855); *Quatre martyrs* (1856); *Shakespeare* (1864)—an attempt at proving the Catholicism of Shakespeare. The second and greatly changed edition of his work on Italian painting appeared from 1861 to 1867, under the title: *De l'art chrétien. Nouvelle édition, entièrement refondue et considérablement augmentée*. The chief source of information on Rio's life is his autobiography, *Epilogue à l'art chrétien* (Fribourg-en-Brisgau, 1870). The biographical dictionaries give but scant and partly incorrect information.

¹ *Epilogue à l'art chrétien*, Vol. I, p. 337.

² He speaks of this group of artists in Part III, Book XII, of his *Mémoires d'Outre Tombe* (cf. ed. by Edmond Bire [Paris, no date], Vol. V, pp. 31 f.).

Perugino and their preference for the first manner of Raphael over the second. He, "qui avait presque entrevu les conditions de l'esthétique chrétienne," could not understand that these German painters under his very eyes "accomplissaient instinctivement une œuvre analogue à la sienne."¹

When Rio went to Italy for the first time in 1830, French travelers were never taken to the chapel of Nicholas V in the Vatican—containing the frescoes by Fra Angelico which, as we saw, were discovered by Hirt for German criticism as early as about 1790—and in the Sistine Chapel never had their attention called to the frescoes by Fra Angelico, Botticelli, and Ghirlandajo. The "Disputa" and the "School of Athens" were regarded merely "comme des acheminements à de plus grandes choses, et les transports d'enthousiasme ne commençaient que quand on rencontrait la collaboration néfaste de Jules Romain."²

Though burdened with this tradition, Rio even on this first visit to Rome instinctively made himself independent by studying the catacombs and certain early Madonnas. He now decided to go to Munich. On his way there he visited Venice—this "république héroïquement chrétienne"—which made an indelible impression on him. Now it was that in Munich he read for the first time the *Italienische Forschungen*³—a book which he says started "une ère nouvelle dans cette branche de littérature qui forme la base et l'aliment de la science esthétique."⁴ Italian art suddenly appeared to him in a new light. He read everything he could to further a plan, as yet vague, of bringing about in France a revolution in the interpretation of Christian art.⁵ "Je puis dire," he declares in another place,⁶ "que Rumohr fut mon véritable initiateur, et qu'à lui seul revient le mérite de ce qu'il peut y [in Rio's book] avoir d'original dans certaines appréciations qui, sans lui avoir été directement empruntées, me furent ou inspirées ou facilitées par ses ouvrages." Rumohr, whom Rio praises as "à la fois archéologue, poète, helléniste, graveur, peintre, musicien,"⁷ omitted to do for Venetian what he so successfully

¹ *Epil.*, Vol. I, pp. 337, 338.

² *Ibid.*, p. 339.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 367.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 336.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 367.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 121.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

performed for Florentine art. It became Rio's aim among other things to fill this gap.¹

In 1831 he was back in Venice to finish those studies which had suggested themselves to him in Munich. In order to understand the art of Venice as the expression of national character, he plunged into a study of the Venetian chronicles, archives, and legends, until the individuality of the city and its people became familiar to him as they probably had never been to anyone before. His main difficulty here, and in other parts of Italy where he studied now and later, was the indifference of the persons he met toward his ideas. For he had elective affinity only with the older painters and could not understand even Titian.

After all we have heard, we may hazard the belief—even before turning to the book itself—that Rio's interpretation of Italian art must be based in large part on material furnished by Rumohr, and is likely to agree in striking fashion with the Tischbein-Wackenroder-Schlegel-Overbeck point of view. This premonition finds corroboration in a study of the facts.

At the very outset Rio declares his hostility to traditional attitude in matters of art. "Ce qu'on est convenu d'appeler un chef-d'œuvre"² cannot appeal to him. On the other hand, in the earliest attempts of Christian artists, as found in the catacombs, "au sein des inspirations les plus grandes qui furent jamais,"³ he discovers the records of a "pensée naïve, attendrissante ou héroïque."⁴ This early art, so much despised by the "connaisseurs," deeply thrills him. After passing in review the age of Constantine, the effect of the Germanic invasions, the age of Charlemain, and the influence of Byzantine art, he turns to the school of Siena. Vasari hardly deigns to mention it, Rio informs us with contempt, but he, Rio, takes great delight in some of the work of men like Duccio and Simone Memmi.⁵

The Madonna by Cimabue in Sta. Maria Novella is conspicuous for "le charme tout à fait nouveau du coloris" and "la dignité imposante."⁶ Giotto he rates much higher than Rumohr had done and praises particularly the originality of the "Coronation of the

¹ *Epil.*, Vol. I, p. 123.

² *Poésie chrétienne*, p. 2.

³ P. 3.

⁴ P. 5.

⁵ Pp. 46 ff.

⁶ P. 61.

Virgin" in Sta. Croce. He bestows similar praise on the followers of Giotto, notably on Orcagna, "le Michel-Ange de son siècle."¹

During this first period, Florentine art made steady progress. In the second we miss unity and find less purity. Through the revival of interest in pagan civilizations an element of decadence almost imperceptibly grows and corrupts painters, sculptors, and poets. Ucello marks this decay: he signifies an advance in matters of technique, but he lacks inspiration.² Dangerous tendencies in the direction of naturalism now arise, such as the habit of introducing the portraits of donors in sacred pictures. Three schools now appear in Florence. One continued the old traditions left by the disciples of Giotto, another was influenced by the technique of the jeweler's trade, and the third took its models from among persons who lived and died in monasteries in the odor of sanctity.³

Among the prominent artists of this period, Masaccio deserves praise for deriving valuable elements from antiquity. So much Rio grants, yet he evidently believes that the growing realistic tendency of Florentine art, best exhibited by Masaccio's work, marks no real advance.⁴ Filippo Lippi's type of Madonnas and saints is intolerably vulgar. In his works "l'oubli du but auquel l'art chrétien doit tendre est porté si loin, qu'il est impossible de lui pardonner ses profanations."⁵ He was a libertine. Hence he could not rise "à la hauteur de ces peintres religieux, qui, dans le siècle précédent, avaient donné à l'art une si grande destination."⁶ Lippi's inferiority shows particularly in his angels: "nul rayon de béatitude céleste n'illumine leurs visages."⁷ He helped the Florentine school by improving the best elements of naturalism, yet he put there "un germe de décadence."⁸ Botticelli was influenced by Lippi. He even adopted Lippi's "types vulgaires." His Madonnas, however, are better and "ont presque toujours le visage voilé par la tristesse."⁹ In his estimate of Ghirlandajo, Rio becomes inconsistent. He praises his "fécondité et maturité,"¹⁰ and because of their grandeur is willing to condone the realism of the Novella frescoes.

¹ P. 81.⁴ Pp. 108 ff.⁷ P. 117.⁹ P. 128.² Pp. 90 ff.⁵ P. 115.⁸ P. 118.¹⁰ P. 130.³ Pp. 90 ff.⁶ P. 116.

During the fifteenth century, then, Florentine art made great progress, but through the influx of paganism, which emanated as a bad influence from the court of the Medici, painting ceased for many artists to be "une des formes de la poésie chrétienne."¹ Only one school in this period offers a "spectacle consolant" by being "supérieure à toutes les autres par le caractère éminemment mystique de ses produits, et par l'inaltérable pureté de ses inspirations."² Rio continues: "Ici s'arrête la compétence de ce qu'on appelle vulgairement *les connaisseurs*."³ For mysticism is to painting "ce que l'extase est à la psychologie, ce qui dit assez combien sont délicats les matériaux qu'il s'agit de mettre en œuvre dans cette partie de notre histoire."⁴ Rio now subjoins a long discussion of mediæval mysticism and points out its profound influence on former generations. Nowhere does he betray greater glow of conviction and depth of feeling than in dealing with this subject, so foreign to most of his contemporaries.

Fra Angelico, who had "mûri et sanctifié son talent dans le silence du cloître,"⁵ ignorant of the great revolution beginning in his day in Florentine art, became the finest exponent of this school, "à la fois si mystique et si lyrique."⁶ He has certain defects in the treatment of the body, but to notice them one would have to be "bien inaccessible à tout ce que l'art chrétien peut faire naître d'émotions plus délicieuses dans une âme convenablement préparée."⁷ They arise, not from inability, but from indifference to everything foreign "au but transcendantal qui occupait sa pieuse imagination."⁸ A close examination of certain paintings which at first may seem tiresome reveals "une variété prodigieuse qui embrasse tous les degrés de poésie que peut exprimer la physiognomie humaine."⁹ Rio then interprets with warmth several of Angelico's works, among them the frescoes in the chapel of St. Nicholas in the Vatican.

Fra Angelico's favorite pupil was Benozzo Gozzoli. Rio speaks of several of his paintings with praise and puts the frescoes in the Campo Santo in Pisa among the "plus étonnantes merveilles

¹ P. 158.⁴ P. 160.⁷ P. 192.² P. 159.⁵ P. 173.⁸ P. 192.³ P. 160.⁶ P. 190.⁹ P. 193.

de l'art." "Il fallait pour y réussir un mélange de grandeur et de naïveté où l'école naturaliste de Florence ne pouvait déjà plus atteindre." Benozzo was the best representative of the "style patriarchal"—the most difficult of all.¹

Among those who painted in a similar spirit the most important are Gentile da Fabriano, and especially Perugino. For the latter our critic has a great predilection and places him higher than even Rumohr was willing to do. When Perugino came to Florence, he was still free from "toutes les profanations contemporaines,"² for he had painted only religious subjects. His best period was about 1500. What he did after that is senile. The frescoes in Sta. Maria Maddalena in Florence are among his best. From his school sprang he who may fairly be called "le prince de l'art chrétien, du moins pendant la plus belle partie de sa vie."³ The school of Perugia dealt with fewer subjects than did others, and omitted the study of the antique. Hence Perugino was accused of sterility of imagination by his contemporaries, who did not understand that an artist "qui cherche ses inspirations en dehors de la sphère des objets sensibles" will strive beyond all things to develop types which "se sont imposés comme une tâche longue et religieuse à son pinceau." "La gloire de l'école ombrienne est d'avoir poursuivi sans relâche ce but transcendental de l'art chrétien."⁴ The inspiring influence of Perugino and his group spread to Bologna and affected artists like Francia. Pinturicchio may or may not have been a disciple of Perugino; he certainly painted in much the same spirit (e. g., in the frescoes of Sta. Maria del Popolo in Rome). In the Appartamenti Borgia in Rome he was humiliated by being compelled to introduce the portraits of Alexander VI and his relatives in sacred pictures. It gives one satisfaction to see the inferiority of this "œuvre purement mercenaire."⁵ Luca Signorelli must have been influenced by Perugino in his beautiful frescoes in the Sistine Chapel. In other works he shows no "influences d'inspirations également heureuses."⁶ He wished to become popular and to rival contemporary artists. Hence he began to study the nude, and even

¹ Pp. 203 f.² P. 234.³ P. 265.² P. 220.⁴ Pp. 235 f.⁶ P. 273.

"rechercha les bonnes grâces de Laurent de Médici."¹ Now his style gained in force what it lost in purity. Hence the general admiration for his "Last Judgment" in Orvieto. With all its good points this painting "ne prouve qu'un progrès purement externe dans Luca Signorelli."² He had so exclusively devoted himself to the study of anatomy that he "avait fini par ne plus voir autre chose dans l'art et même dans l'homme."³

We now come to him "qui fait à la fois le couronnement et la clôture de l'école ombrienne, et qui a eu la gloire de porter l'art chrétien à son plus haut point de perfection,"⁴ viz., Raphael. When Raphael first went to Florence, "le naturalisme était encore dans tout l'orgueil du triomphe obtenu sur Savonarole et ses partisans,"⁵ but Raphael chose his associates—men like Ridolfo Ghirlandajo and Fra Bartolomeo—"dans le parti vaincu."⁶ As Raphael went several times to Perugia between 1505 and 1508, he had opportunity to continue his early method. Rio then adds an appreciation of the Madonnas of the early period. The "Vierge au baldaquin" is the most beautiful: it is the triumph of Christian art. Later on, changes almost imperceptibly came over Raphael. Yet, "le paganisme, de plus en plus en vogue parmi les graveurs et les artistes florentins, n'arriva pas jusqu'à lui et ne souilla pas une seule fois la pureté de son pinceau." "Cette noble répugnance pour tout ce qui tendait à dégrader l'art chrétien"⁷ explains why Raphael found few illustrious protectors.

Among the tasks put before Raphael when he was called to paint the walls of the "Camera della Segnatura" was one subject which may be regarded as "une bonne fortune sans pareille" to a painter trained in the atmosphere of the Umbrian school—the "Disputa." The painting which treats this subject is therefore a masterpiece "sans rivale dans l'histoire de la peinture." Soon after finishing this wonder of art, Raphael showed symptoms of decay.⁸ Hence the admirers of his first style look upon his second "avec une sorte de répugnance ou au moins avec froideur." Rio feels compelled to polemicize against Rumohr's explanation of this revolution in the great painter.⁹

¹ P. 273.² P. 274.³ Pp. 277 f.⁴ Pp. 291 f.⁵ Pp. 298 ff.² P. 274.⁶ Pp. 274 f.⁶ P. 278.⁶ P. 294.

Now Rio introduces a long chapter on Savonarola. As lovers "de l'art et de la poésie chrétienne" we must remember, in order to understand the famous monk, that he found everything in Florence—art, manners, customs—polluted with paganism.¹ He saw that "la décadence des beaux-arts tenait principalement à la décadence du culte parmi les chrétiens."² His influence became tremendous, and the enthusiasm for his doctrines went so far that many voluptuous works of art, among them several antique statues, were destroyed. "Fra Bartolomeo apportait scrupuleusement tous les desseins qu'il avait faits comme études du nu, et son exemple fut suivi par Lorenzo di Credi et par plusieurs autres peintres qui avaient compris le besoin d'une prompte régénération pour leur art."³

The following chapter deals with the men who, according to Rio, in their art carried out Savonarola's teaching, especially Lorenzo di Credi, Fra Bartolomeo, and Ridolfo Ghirlandajo. He calls this "l'école religieuse pure."⁴ Fra Bartolomeo is a great favorite of Rio, who delights in his "répugnance pour toute espèce de sujets profanes."⁵ Ridolfo left the path of his father and became "le dernier représentant de l'école mystique."⁶

Many interesting works of the sixteenth century belong to "naturalisme." Though we find in them "conceptions beaucoup moins sublimes" than are those of the Umbrian school, they nevertheless stand in the front rank in the history of painting "quand on est venu à la période de décroissance."⁷ Rio cannot by any means place as high an estimate as does Cochin in his *Voyage d'Italie* on the artists who imitate nature on the side of color. Yet "nous leur devons une sorte de reconnaissance pour avoir donné à cet élément subalterne tout le développement dont il était susceptible."⁸ To the glory of the artists of Florence be it said that even in the period of decadence "ils ne se sont pas laissés séduire par la vogue scandaleuse"—in matters of coloring—"qu'obtenaient les productions cyniques du Titien et de Jules Romain."⁹

¹ P. 305.⁴ P. 364.⁷ P. 396.² P. 328.⁵ P. 371.⁸ P. 396.³ P. 352.⁶ P. 395.⁹ P. 397.

Andrea del Sarto had much talent, but lacked the highest inspiration. His disgraceful passion for Lucrezia del Fede made him put her into several of his paintings as the Virgin. Some of his Madonnas, like the one in the Annunziata in Florence, the Madonna del Sacco, and the Madonna of St. Francis in the Tribuna, are admirable; others belong to a "type vulgaire."¹

Mantegna absorbed much from antiquity with wonderful powers of assimilation. Such skill makes one "*regretter d'autant plus la perte d'un temps si précieux qu'il aurait pu consacrer exclusivement à la composition d'œuvres plus vitales.*"² Later—much to his advantage—he was somewhat influenced by Giovanni Bellini. The Madonna in S. Zeno in Verona, however, calls out Rio's enthusiastic approval. Mantegna had no great disciples—not even his two sons accomplished anything important. "*Ce triste résultat prouve plus invinciblement qu'aucune théorie, la funeste influence exercée par l'élément païen sur les arts d'imagination, toutes les fois qu'il n'a pas été rigoureusement subordonné à l'élément religieux, le seul qui contienne le germe de traditions véritablement vivaces.*"³ Mantua, "cette pauvre ville," was haunted by a sort of fatality. No sooner did the "école défectueuse" of Mantegna expire there than she hailed with delight "le cynique Jules Romain" whose brush, void of poetry, "*était toujours incomparable quand il s'agissait de distiller le poison.*"⁴

Venice did not go to Mantua nor to Padua—where at one time Lippi found favor—for inspiration. She preferred to communicate with the "école pure et mystique" of Umbria.⁵ The influence of Umbrian ideals continued in Venice until came "la grande invasion du naturalisme et du paganisme" at the end of the fifteenth century. Gentile da Fabriano established the connection between Venice and Umbria. He was in a sense the founder of the school of the Bellinis. German and Dutch art also influenced painting in Venice.⁶

Of the two Bellinis, Gentile had a leaning toward the principles of the school of Mantegna. Giovanni never did. He painted much better later in life than he had done earlier in his career.

¹ Pp. 406 ff.

³ P. 454.

⁵ P. 457.

² P. 448.

⁴ P. 455.

⁶ Pp. 457 ff.

But his type of Christ was always the same. He never spoiled his works by making them merely graceful. The Virgin on his canvasses is always "toute entière au pressentiment de ses souffrances." This type of Madonna is not as beautiful as that of the Umbrian school, "mais il est plus prophétique."¹ After Antonello da Messina had taught him the art of painting in oil, he began to produce his greatest *chefs-d'œuvre*. Among these the Madonna in the Frari church in Venice is a masterpiece comparable to the greatest of the Umbrian school. The artist seems to have had an "avant-goût de la béatitude céleste"² when he painted it. The Madonna in S. Zaccaria in Venice is the "chef-d'œuvre de l'école vénitienne pour tout ce qui tient à la poésie et à la profondeur des caractères." We find in it "grace naïve" and "simplicité touchante"—the "attribus exclusifs des productions de cette époque, qui fut comme l'âge d'or de la peinture chrétienne."³

Among the other masters of the older period of Venetian art, Carpaccio is to him the most delightful. The Ursula series he calls "ce monument colossal de l'art chrétien."⁴

Among Giovanni Bellini's pupils occurred a schism. Some "s'engagèrent dans les voies du perfectionnement extérieur, à la suite du Giorgion, réformateur non moins impétueux ni moins hardi que son contemporain Luther." Others continued the principles of mystic art. They were "amplement dédomagés par le suffrage populaire de la pitié qu'ils inspiraient aux novateurs" (!).⁵ Among those faithful to these sacred tenets, Vincenzo Catena was "l'un des plus grands peintres de l'école vénitienne."⁶

Giovanni Bellini influenced artists in different parts of the Veneto, especially in Bergamo; these pure traditions in the little town explain the appearance of Palma Vecchio and Lorenzo Lotto.⁷

On the remaining pages of his book Rio speaks of the relation of painting to music, has praise for Paolo Veronese's "magnifique tableau des noces de Cana"⁸ in the Louvre, shows how much longer the Venetian school retained religious feeling in painting

¹ P. 474.² P. 478.³ P. 481.⁴ P. 498.⁵ P. 504.⁶ P. 506. Catena is now forgotten. Never does the danger of the Schlegel-Rio method become more apparent than by such praise bestowed on mediocrity.⁷ P. 517.⁸ P. 524.

than did other schools; furthermore, how intense the Christian spirit was in Venetian life, and how corruption ultimately overwhelmed Venice in the eighteenth century.¹

Was ever interpretation more subjective, capricious, one-sided, placed upon the works of the great artists of Italy? Not only does Rio neglect or despise nearly everything which to Cochin and Mengs seemed vital, but he goes so far in his reaction against the rationalism of the eighteenth century that he might fairly, by way of motto, have placed on the fly-leaf of his book the words of Friedrich Schlegel, quoted above: "Ich habe vorzüglich Sinn für den alten Styl in der christlichen Mahlerei, nur diese verstehe und begreife ich, und nur über diese kann ich reden." For with Rio, as with Schlegel, the supreme test of a work of art is: "Does it breathe the religious spirit?" not at all: "Is it well painted?" or, "Does it reflect a great artistic individuality?" That ill-starred confusion between art and religion, implied as early as 1790 in the principles of Tischbein's associates, which appeared for the first time in a printed work in Wackenroder's *Herzensergießungen*, which gives to Fr. Schlegel's essays their glamor of originality, and which guided the brush of the artists grouped about Overbeck—informs every line of the *Poésie chrétienne*. What Wackenroder had preached with subdued sweetness here sounds in clarion notes. The *Poésie chrétienne* may be called the great manifesto of the Wackenroder-Schlegel school of criticism."²

¹ When the second volume appeared in 1855, Lindsay and Ruskin had begun to publish. It therefore does not interest us here, although it represents the same point of view as the first.

² That Rio was directly influenced by the writings of Fr. Schlegel is proved by a passage in the *Poésie* (p. 450) in which he quotes from the essay in the *Europa*, entitled "Gemäldebeschreibungen aus Paris und den Niederlanden," and calls Schlegel "l'homme qui a le plus vivement senti l'art chrétien dans les temps modernes et qui portait dans ses jugements esthétiques toute la candeur d'une belle âme jointe aux lumières d'un beau génie." The title of Rio's work, apparently so far-fetched, seems inspired by a passage in Schlegel's *Europa* (Vol. II, erstes Stück, pp. 113 ff.). Schlegel here discusses the two elements which are essential to good painting: technique and inspiration, "Geist und Buchstabe, Erfindung und Ausführung." Of the latter he says: "Auch ist die Erfindung so zu verstehen, dass, was man Anordnung und Composition nennt, mit darunter verstanden ist; mit einem Worte, die Poesie in dem Gemahle . . . Geist und Buchstabe also, das Mechanische und die Poesie, das sind Bestandtheile der Mahlerei . . . Einer möglichen Misdeutung müssen wir noch vorbeugen, was die Forderung der Poesie betrifft. Der Mahler soll ein Dichter seyn, das ist keine Frage; aber nicht eben ein Dichter in Worten, sondern in Farben. Mag er doch seine Poesie überall anders herhaben, als aus der Poesie selbst, wenn es nur Poesie ist. Das Beispiel der alten Mahler wird uns auch hier am besten orientiren. . . . Aber wir

It is interesting to note the difference between Rio and Rumohr, the scholar to whom he avowedly owed so much. No one could be more deeply interested in the naïve religious painters of Italy than the great German critic. But Rumohr, checked by a thoroughly artistic temperament, never forgets that pictorially to interpret life in its multitudinous forms is as great a contribution to the spiritual development of the race as exclusively to study the manifestations of the religious spirit; is, in fact, in a broad sense, a form of worship. More than that, he never overlooks the tremendous importance of technique, and he is fully aware that to be a religious painter need by no means necessarily imply being a great artist.

But let us not be unjust. Rio, like Schlegel, is certainly not conspicuous for soundness. Yet, as Schlegel, by dint of those very exaggerations which offend us, freed Germany from Mengs, so Rio, by his profound love for the poetry of religion, freed France from the worldly and unsatisfactory critical dogma of Cochin. The Frenchman did even more than the German toward establishing in the eyes of the world the importance of those early masters who had so long been contemned, and who are so dear to us now. He did more, I say; for his book was destined to make a deep impression in various parts of Europe.

In France, to be sure, it was at first entirely unsuccessful. The publisher sold only twelve copies during the first five months after its appearance, and as late as 1838 Délacluse, the oracle in matters of art on the *Journal des Débats*, asked Rio's friend Montalembert whether Rio actually was in earnest with his peculiar views on painting. He even wrote articles which were meant to warn young artists against those ideas. A sort of despair fell

meinen darunter nur die poetische Ansicht der Dinge, und diese hatten die Alten näher aus der Quelle. Die Poesie der alten Mahler war theils die Religion, wie beim Perugino, Fra Bartholomeo und vielen andern Alten; theils Philosophie, wie beim tiefsinnigen Leonardo, oder aber beides, wie in dem unergründlichen Dürer." He continues to explain that the poetry of the Middle Ages was religion and mystic philosophy. Therefore in our scientific age, in which religion has virtually passed out of life, the painter's only recourse is "die universellste Kunst aller Künste . . . die Poesie, wo er, wenn er sie gründlich studirt, beides vereinigt finden wird, sowohl die Religion als die Philosophie der alten Zeit. Dass nun eine solche poetische Absicht in den Gemälden der alten, sowohl italienischen als deutschen Schule durchaus vorhanden, ja der eigentliche Zweck der Malerei sey, das liess sich durch vollständige Induktion beweisen." (*Loc. cit.*, p. 114.) Rio's whole work appears like an attempt to furnish this Induktion.

on Rio.¹ Only in later years did the book become more influential in its own country.

In England, on the contrary, Rio was soon to make a profound impression. He had married an English woman, and from 1836 on he repeatedly visited Great Britain and there became acquainted with many prominent men, like Lord Stanhope, Lord Houghton, Carlyle, Gladstone, Manning, Wordsworth, and especially Samuel Rogers. Gladstone became deeply interested in the *Poésie chrétienne*, and took it with him on a trip to Italy in 1838.² The disciples of the new art-criticism after a time became so numerous in England that during the "season" of 1840 Rio's position was much like that of the chief of a sect.³

There was good reason why Rio at precisely this time should make so profound an impression in England, when his own country refused to understand him. For several years before his arrival the English cultured had been stirred by a religious upheaval which in intensity far surpassed any other that had ever reached this class. The Oxford Movement had been started by Keble in 1833. Pusey, enthusiastic and learned, had greatly added to its strength. In 1836 John Henry Newman began his investigations of Catholicism (cf. his *Romanism and Popular Protestantism*) which, starting in a spirit of hostility to Rome, were later to end in espousal of the Catholic *Weltanschauung*. In February, 1841, about the time when Rio was impressing London circles, appeared Newman's famous *Tract No. 90*, in which he tried to refute the allegation that the Thirty-nine Articles were irreconcilable with

¹ *Epilogue*, Vol. II, pp. 274, 275, 399, 400.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 325-60.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 406 ff. In 1854 there appeared in London a translation of the *Poésie*, entitled: *The Poetry of Christian Art, Translated from the French of A. F. Rio* (cf. *Epilogue*, Vol. II, pp. 412 ff.). Among those who helped to spread Rio's doctrines one of the most enthusiastic was Mrs. Jameson (*Epil.*, loc. cit., p. 412). In 1841 she met Rio in Paris. She calls this meeting "the great event of my life here" (cf. *Memoirs of the Life of Anna Jameson*, by her Niece Gerardine Macpherson [Boston, 1878], p. 176), and further mentions visiting the Louvre in his company. Mrs. Jameson's books, written before this meeting (e. g., *The Diary of an Ennuyée*, 1826; *Visits and Sketches at Home and Abroad*, 1834), betray no interest in the early artists. In 1841 she began to devote her life to the interpretation of sacred art. The most important product of her new studies is her *Memoirs of the Early Italian Painters* (1845) and especially her *Sacred and Legendary Art* (1848 ff.). About this time the *Poésie* was taken up with enthusiasm even in Italy. Manzoni and Cesare Canth admired it, and, Rio states, an Italian translation with notes by Rumohr appeared (I know nothing more of this translation). (Cf. *Epilogue*, Vol. II, pp. 400, 419, 423.) Germany, the country of Rumohr, was naturally less impressed with the *Poésie*. Yet Cornelius read it and gave it to Frederick William IV (*ibid.*, p. 416).

Roman Catholic teaching. Sinister significance was given to this publication by the fact that a strong current was beginning to set toward Rome. Many superior minds felt that in the English Church might be found modest types of goodness, but that the Roman produced the heroic. There was a strong rebound in Anglican England from insular ignorance and prejudice in matters Catholic. English travelers had come in contact with high-minded French priests of great originality and eloquence, like Lamennais and Montalembert, the friends of Rio.

These convictions took a strong hold of W. G. Ward, remarkable for great controversial gifts. In his writings he constantly compared the English church with the Roman, to the disadvantage of the former (cf. his *Ideal of a Christian Church*, 1844). Newman's apostasy in 1845 marked the culmination of these Roman tendencies, but broke the Oxford Movement.¹

So then Rio, coming to England while the movement was reaching white heat, found what he missed at home: an atmosphere surcharged with religious sentiment and spirituality. What wonder his teaching was taken up with an avidity, a violence, to which many a page in Ruskin bears eloquent witness! This atmosphere was identical in essentials with that which, two generations earlier, among German artists had produced the reaction against Mengs, and a little later had given birth to German pre-Raphaelitism.

Because of these favorable conditions, Rio's message was destined indirectly to become a great factor in the present culture of the English-speaking nations.

In 1847 Lord Lindsay put out in London his *Sketches of the History of Christian Art*.² This work, written in letters to a young friend, aims to call attention to the importance of Christian art, and is based, for material, chiefly on Rumohr; for interpretation, on Rio. Lanzi, Förster, Kugler, and others are also quoted;

¹Cf. R. W. Church, *The Oxford Movement* (London, 1900).

²Alex. Will. Crawford Lindsay, twenty-fifth Earl of Crawford (1812-80), was profoundly religious throughout his life and directed his last years to the study of religious history. His sympathy with its artistic side resulted in his best work, the book mentioned above. The second edition of it appeared in 1882. (Cf. *Dictionary of National Biography* sub "Lindsay.") This edition, according to the introductory notice, offers no changes from the first. I used the American reprint of it (New York, 1886).

nevertheless, Rumohr and Rio are the author's guides, and he constantly refers to them. He calls the *Poésie chrétienne* "a work graceful, eloquent and appreciative, and calculated to make enthusiasts in the cause of the *Ecole mystique*, exclusively of all other excellence."

The very first pages reveal Lindsay's view-point. We read there:

But the Sculpture of Greece is the voice of Intellect and Thought, communing with itself in solitude, feeding on beauty and yearning after truth. While the Painting of Christendom—and we must remember that the glories of Christianity in the full extent of the term, are yet to come—is that of an immortal spirit, conversing with its God.¹

He disclaims indifference toward Greek art ("do not for a moment suppose me insensible to classical art"), and pretends to take great pleasure in the Elgin marbles. Yet he continues: "But none of these completely satisfy us. The highest element of truth and beauty, the Spiritual, was beyond the soar of Phidias and Praxiteles." Consequently the Christian *Weltanschauung* is far superior to the Greek. Hence the "vantage" of the Bible over the *Iliad*.² The fine arts are a sort of Trinity of Unity. Architecture symbolizes the Father, Sculpture the Son, and Painting the Holy Spirit, the Smile of God illuminating creation.³

The work contains first a treatise on "The Ideal, and the Character and Dignity of Christian Art;" then one entitled "Table of Symbols: The Hieroglyphical language of the Universal Church during the Early Ages." Then come (among other things) "Sketches of the History of Christian Art," dealing with Christian painting, sculpture, and architecture down to the fifteenth century. The author stopped here, but hoped some time to continue.

Lindsay's *Sketches* in themselves have no great importance. They are of interest because symptomatic of a new current, and furthermore because they helped to inspire him in whom the whole movement in favor of Christian art culminated.

Ruskin, by temperament and training as religious as Rio and Lindsay, very early in life exhibited a strong affection for the pic-

¹ *Sketches*, Vol. I, p. 3.

² *Ibid.*, p. 4.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 6.

turesque in architecture.¹ This predilection was perhaps encouraged in him by the presumption in favor of Gothic architecture started, as we saw, by Englishmen and Germans in the eighteenth century, and in the nineteenth most powerfully furthered in England by Pugin.

For early Italian painting, we know, there was little feeling in England before the appearance of the *Poésie chrétienne*. Hence it was possible for Ruskin to go to Italy as a young man without appreciating the merit of the older school. He even could publish a treatise on art (*Modern Painters*, Vol. I, 1843) in which appears none of that explosive enthusiasm for Christian painting which fills many of his later publications. In the autumn and winter of 1844-45 he claims to have studied Rio and Lindsay.² He could now say of himself: "perceiving thus, what a blind bat and puppy I had been, all through Italy, determined that at least I must see Pisa and Florence again before writing another word of *Modern Painters*."³

From now on it became one of the chief labors of his life to spread the gospel that art can be inspiring and uplifting, can be an ennobling force, only as long as it is the expression of the religious spirit. This spirit, however, he found exclusively in the early masters. The wordliness and learning of the Renaissance killed it.⁴

His attitude is perhaps most clearly and forcibly expressed in his essay on "Pre-Raphaelitism," originally delivered in November, 1853, as Lecture IV of the "Lectures on Architecture and Painting."⁵ Here he tells us:

¹ See his *Poetry of Architecture*, etc., written when he was nineteen, and published over the nom-de-plume "Kata Phusin" (cf. Collingwood, *The Life and Work of John Ruskin* [Boston and New York, 1893], Vol. I, pp. 81 ff.).

² Cf. *Praeterita*, 2d ed. (New York, no date), Vol. II, p. 186. He probably read and studied Rio at this time, but his memory must have played him false in regard to Lindsay, for the latter's book did not appear until 1847. Ruskin wrote a review of the *Sketches* in the year of their appearance, and published it in the *Quarterly Review* for June, 1847. It is reprinted in *On the Old Road*. Collingwood (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 139) uncritically copies *Praeterita*.

³ *Praeterita*, Vol. II, p. 186. In consequence he inserted in the third edition of Vol. I of *Modern Painters* the passages on the drawing of flowers by Cima da Conigliano, Fra Angelico, etc.

⁴ Fortunately, Ruskin is not always consistent. We should hardly expect dithyrambic enthusiasm for Tintoretto from the greatest follower of Rio.

⁵ Cf. the "Brantwood edition" of *Ruskin's Works* (New York, 1892), pp. 187 ff.

Now the division of time which the Pre-Raphaelites [meaning, of course, Rossetti and his friends] have adopted, in choosing Raphael as the man whose works mark the separation between Mediævalism and Modernism, is perfectly accurate. It has been accepted as such by all their opponents. You have, then, the three periods: Classicism, extending to the fall of the Roman empire; Mediævalism, extending from that fall to the close of the fifteenth century; and Modernism thenceforward to our days. Classicism began with Pagan Faith. Mediævalism began and continued, wherever civilisation began and continued to *confess* Christ.

About the time of Raphael began the denial of religious belief. Modernism is characterized by indifference to God and his word. The consequence is that all ancient art was religious, and all modern art is profane;

. . . . that art is the *impurer* for not being in the service of Christianity, is indisputable; and that is the main point I have now to do with just as classical art was greatest in building to its gods, so mediæval art was great in building to its gods, and modern art is not great, because it builds to no God.

No one could claim:

. . . . that Angelico painting the life of Christ, Benozzo painting the life of Abraham, Ghirlandajo painting the life of the Virgin, Giotto painting the life of St. Francis, were worse employed, or likely to produce a less healthy art, than Titian painting the loves of Venus and Adonis, than Correggio painting the naked Antiope, than Salvator painting the slaughters of the thirty years' war. If you will not let me call the one kind of labour Christian, and the other unchristian, at least you will let me call the one moral, and the other immoral, and that is all I ask you to admit When the entire pupose of art was moral teaching, it naturally took truth for its first object, and beauty, and the pleasure resulting from beauty, only for its second. But when it lost all purpose of moral teaching, it as naturally took beauty for its first object, and truth for its second.

Raphael, Ruskin goes on to explain, was responsible for "the great change which clouds the career of mediæval art." For in his twenty-fifth year he decorated the chambers of the Vatican, where he wrote

the Mene, Tekel, Upharsin of the Arts of Christianity And he wrote it thus: On one wall of that chamber he placed a picture of the World or Kingdom of *Theology*, presided over by *Christ*. And on the side wall of

that same chamber he placed the World or Kingdom of *Poetry*, presided over by *Apollo*. And from that spot, and from that hour, the intellect and the art of Italy date their degradation.

If Bury had put in writing the views which left such an impress on his fellow-painters in Rome, and which later irritated Meyer, he might have expressed himself much as does Ruskin here, though doubtless less violently. Certainly Ruskin's statement sounds like an expansion and exaggeration of certain passages in Fr. Schlegel's *Gemähldebeschreibungen aus Paris und den Niederlanden*, and some sentences in it strike one like modified transcriptions from Rio.¹ His passionate preference for the early masters is attested again and again throughout his work. We are all familiar with the praise of Cimabue, Giotto, Orcagna, Fra Angelico, etc., found in the various volumes of *Modern Painters* and in other works. We remember, too, that Lippi and Botticelli rose on his horizon comparatively late in life—and the fact is not without significance for one who had read Rio. We further call to mind Ruskin's contempt for the Bolognese, especially for Cochin's favorite, Guercino, and also, in spite of appreciation for his technical ability, for that other darling of the eighteenth century, Correggio. "Sensuality and impurity" soiled the brush of both. The Renaissance, readers of Ruskin are well aware, was to the great prose-poet merely an age of decay. As Wackenroder fifty years before had pleaded for a simple spirit in art, and had professed contempt for technique, so his famous English successor never tires of lauding "simple and unlearned men" like Giotto, Orcagna, Angelico, Memmi, Pisano, and of attacking "the learned men that followed them."² For knowledge and science (especially the science of words) are a burden. They have a pestilent effect. They lead to the pride of science which killeth; "the one main purpose of the Renaissance artists, in all their work, was to show how much they knew." This is "Renaissance Pride."³ The interest in paganism, so strong during the Renaissance, is deplorable. There followed from this interest that "all the most exalted faculties of man, which, up to that period, had been employed in

¹ Cf. above, p. 55.

² *Stones of Venice*, "The Spite of the Proud," sec. 23 (Brantwood edition).

³ *Ibid.*, sec. 32.

the service of Faith, were now transferred to the service of Fiction."¹ The inevitable corollary of such self-conceit was decay. This is the great "Mene" to be derived from the study of Venetian history.²

Ruskin goes beyond Rio, and the Germans from whom Rio borrowed, in more persistently emphasizing the purely moral aspect of art. This attitude frequently comes to the surface in Ruskin's writings, and is perhaps most tersely expressed in "The Relation of Art to Morals," the third of the "Lectures on Art": "You must have the right moral state first, or you cannot have the art. But when the art is once obtained, its reflected action enhances and completes the moral state out of which it arose."³

This inability to recognize the essential difference between the moral and the artistic instinct was common in the literary and the art criticism of all countries in the eighteenth century. In Germany the cultured had become accustomed to a clearer method of thinking through Goethe's and Schiller's illuminating contributions to criticism. In England and America, mainly through Ruskin's influence, absence of mature insight to this day characterizes discussions of the subject.

It is not my purpose, however, to show how much harm Ruskin has done. Quite the contrary. Certainly his method is viciously unscientific. To quote a felicitous word of Professor Norton: "Today he rides with Sir Galahad, pure, inspired, steadfast as he; tomorrow with Don Quixote, generous, deluded, extravagant as he."⁴ Yet it was he who by dint of an unequalled genius for prose and an irresistible enthusiasm made love for beauty a strong factor in English culture, and thus gave it a degree of mellowness which, without his influence, it might lack. Surely, to have accomplished that is as much as any mortal need aspire to attain. His very lack of balance helped him, as lack of balance had helped Rousseau, with whom he has so much in common. And his insistence on the identity of religion and true art was

¹ *Loc. cit.*, sec. 102.

² See the concluding chapters of *The Stones of Venice*.

³ Cf. Brantwood edition, p. 80.

⁴ Brantwood edition, volume containing the "Lectures on Architecture and Painting," p. v.

the very channel through which his message found ready access to the hearts of thousands of his countrymen. For, while the German public had been disciplined through the influence of Goethe, Meyer, and Rumohr, the English had remained indifferent to art in spite of Reynolds and Fuseli,¹ and hence could best be reached through its veneration for Christian dogma.

Ruskin's influence, though still strong, is no longer as overwhelming as it was even twenty years ago. The author of *The Gentle Art of Making Enemies* has done his share toward mitigating it. Let us not lapse into the tone of bitterness or ridicule which marks much of the estimate of Ruskin on the part of Whistler's school. Still, let us not forget that what was pardonable, even admirable, in Bury, Wackenroder, and Schlegel, as a protest against a view of art chill with intellectuality, need no longer control us who have been freed.²

CAMILLO VON KLENZE

BROWN UNIVERSITY

¹This indifference had evidently not been greatly mitigated by Thomas Phillips' *Lectures on the History and Principles of Painting* (London, 1833). In the first of these delivered in 1827, he introduced an appreciative estimate of Giotto. In the second, delivered in the same year, he shows fair understanding of Masaccio and rather remarkable insight into the genius of Signorelli. But he evidently has no understanding of Lippi, Botticelli or Ghirlandajo. Besides, Phillips' style was hardly adapted to arouse a whole nation.

²I owe grateful acknowledgment to Geheimrat Professor Suphan and Archivrat Dr. Schäddekopf, of Weimar; to Professor C. E. Norton, of Cambridge, Mass.; as well as to the libraries of Harvard, Cornell, and the University of Chicago, for their generosity in granting me access to valuable material.

A VENETIAN FOLK-SONG

It may be that D'Ancona is right in assuming the following song¹ to be welded together of three separate fragments.² But when he says it is badly welded he oversteps the mark.³ The joints of a ballad may be visible after the people are done with their soldering, but it is often an ill thing to denominate what they have joined mere casual patchwork; because reasons for such assembling of parts may exist, although the critic beneath his lamp behold them not. The *volkslied* is herewith divided, however as D'Ancona suggests:

	O morte dispietata	Io gli parlai d' amore:	
	Tu m' hai fatto gran torto:	Addio, bella sora,	
	Tu m' hai tolto mia donna,	Ch' io me ne vò a' Vignone,	20
	Ch' era lo mio conforto,	Ad Avignone in Francia,	
5	La notte con lo die,	Per acquistare onore.	
	Fino all' alba del giorno.	S' io fo colpo di lancia,	
	Giammai non vidi donna	Farò per vostro amore;	
	Di cotanto valore,	S' io moro alla battaglia,	25
	Quanto era la Caterina	Morrò per vostro amore.	
10	Che mi donò il suo amore.	Diran le maritate:	
	—	Morto è il nostro amadore;	
	La mi tenne la staffa,	Diran le pulzelle:	
	Ed io montai in arcione;	Morto è per nostro amore;	30
	La mi pòrse la lancia,	Diran le vedovelle:	
	Ed io imbracciai la targa;	Vuolsegli fare onore.	
15	La mi pòrse la spada,	Dove il sotterreremo?	
	La mi calzò lo sprone;	'N Santa Maria del Fiore.	
	La mi misse l' elmetto.	Di che lo copriremo?	35
	—	Di rose e di viole.	

¹ Widter-Wolf, *Volkslieder aus Venetien* (1864), no. 139.

² In his *La poesia popolare italiana* (1878), p. 87, D'Ancona says: "Nella seguente ci sembrano accozzati, e mal saldati insieme, più frammenti di diverse canzoni: l'uno dei quali va a tutto il decimo verso; poi un altro da questo al diciassettesimo, e dal diciassettesimo fino alla fine, l'ultimo. Così, come vedremo accadere assai spesso nella poesia cantata è raccomandata soltanto alla memoria, si sarebbero fusi e confusi insieme pezzi appartenenti a diversi componimenti."

³ Such purely subjective statement is happily passing out of fashion among Italian folklorists. It is the old school as represented by Pitrè (*Studi di poesia popolare*, 1872) and Rubieri (*Storia della poesia popolare italiana*, 1877) which cannot deal with facts without coloring them.

It has long been the favorite play of leisure moments to hunt through odd volumes of German *schneiderhüpfel* or of Italian *ballate* for the as yet undiscovered sources of certain songs of Wilhelm Müller's.¹ There are many still to be added to the already long list of his appropriations.² In one sense this deliberate search for models partakes somewhat of the pettiness inherent in all source-hunting—in so far at least as its underlying motive may at times be nothing more than to fasten the stigma of plagiarism upon a half-forgotten poet. But, viewed from another standpoint, it is important to know as fully as we may the very last detail of Müller's gleanings from the vernacular verse of earlier generations. For he had an almost unparalleled success in melting foreign themes and forms into the liquid simplicity of his own German verses, afterwards to pass them on to Eichendorff and Heine—not even Rückert escaped the contagion of Müller's boyish enthusiasm. Of course, it was Goethe's great confession in the form of lyric and ballad poetry which made up the bible of Romantic rhyming (with its Old Testament of Klopstock and Herder—its New Testament of the Master in Weimar); but, had it not been for Bürger, we should have been spared the *schauerromanze* at which every adolescent contemporary tried his hand. Had it not been for Müller, late Romanticism would have lost that *je ne sais quoi* of transparent sweetness, that certain something of lyric simplicity and directness which so lives in its musical quatrains.

Arnold has shown Müller's pre-eminent ability in adapting Greek prototypes, and commented upon that deftness of touch

¹ Cf. *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. XIV (1899), pp. 165, 166, 213, 214; *ibid.*, Vol. XVI (1901), pp. 37, 38; *Journal of Germanic Philology*, Vol. III (1901), pp. 33-91, 431-91.

² I have not been able to ascertain what were the printed anthologies of Italian folk-songs which Müller made the basis of the collection that he began in 1813; only part of which was in the manuscript turned over by his heirs to Wolff ten years later. One has but to be familiar with the method of Müller's copying from Meinert (*Alle deutsche Volkslieder*, 1817), Ziska and Schottky (*Oesterreichische Volkslieder*, 1819), and Fauriel (ΤΡΑΓΟΥΔΙΑ ΡΩΜΑΙΚΑ, 1824) to be sure that it was printed and not oral material which furnished the groundwork of the songs which we know he adapted from the Italian. Further proof of this fact, if such be needed, meets one on almost every page of his *Egeria*. The long ballads and chapbook histories which occur in this book, the difficult and various dialectic verses, the villanelles, chansonnettes, and dialogues couched in impeccable literary diction, inform us sufficiently that exacter means than those of oral transmission were everywhere used. When these printed sources of Müller's songs are found—the songs which were later printed in *Egeria*, as well as those which the poet for obvious reasons suppressed—models for certain other poems of Müller's will come to light.

which Goethe and Chamisso rarely equaled;¹ and likewise the poet's demonstrable aptitude for rendering Italian snatches and south-German doggerel is little short of marvelous. In these fields no other Romanticist approached him.²

For the reasons above given, then, it seems worth recording that I recently came upon the source of Müller's *Altitalienisches Volkslied* while reading D'Ancona's familiar collection of Italian popular songs. The translation, as so often in Müller, is extremely close to its original.³ Two verses are omitted (13, 14) as offering perhaps but a tiring repetition, a phrase or two is added (as *amore* = *Lieb' und Leiden*), but the sure and German reworking has all the lilt and color of the model. For the sake of convenient reference Müller's song is here given:

O Tod, du mitleidloser,	Lebwohl, mein holdes Mädchen!
Was tat ich dir zu Leide?	Nach Avignon ich reite,
Du raubtest mir mein Mädchen,	Von Avignon nach Franken, ⁴
Sie, alle meine Freude!	Mir Ehren zu erstreiten;
Bei Nacht und auch bei Tage,	Und wenn ich Lanzen breche,
Beim roten Morgenscheine,	Ist's nur für deine Liebe;
Noch nie hab' ich ein Mädchen	Und wenn ich fall' im Kampfe,
Gesehn von solchem Preise	Fall' ich zu deinem Preise.
Wie meine Katharina,	Dann sprechen alle Frauen:
Sie, alle meine Freude!	Da liegt er, den wir meinen;
Sie hielt mir meinen Bügel,	Dann sprechen alle Mädchen:
Wollt' ich zu Rosse steigen,	Für uns fiel er im Streite;
Sie schnallte mir die Sporen,	Dann sprechen alle Witwen:
Sie tat das Schwert mir rei-	Wie ehren wir die Leiche?
chen,	Wo soll'n wir ihn begraben?
Sie setzte mir den Helm auf.	Im Dom zu Sankt-Mareien.
Ich sprach von Lieb' und Lei-	Womit soll'n wir ihn decken?
den:	Mit Rosen und mit Veilchen.

¹ *Der deutsche Philhellenismus* (1896), *passim*.

² Even the graceful Eichendorff, despite his *Zerbrochenes Ringlein*, had but ill success in his more concrete copying of popular lyric balladry; testimony of which are his *Zigeunerin*, *Soldat 1 und 2*, *Glücksritter*, *Schreckenberger, Lied mit Thränen*, *Die Kleine*. A detailed investigation in the popular sources and technique of Eichendorff undertaken by Mr. J. H. Heinzelman, of the University of Chicago, will elucidate this point.

³ Compare with Müller's adaptation Rückert's translation of the Venetian *barcarola* ("La biondina in gondoletta") which I find in *Egeria*, edd. Müller and Wolff (1829), p. 205; or Rückert's Roman *ritornelles* which he had from Müller (*Rom, Römer und Römerinnen* (1820), Vol. I, pp. 52 ff.; *Egeria*, pp. 1, 2). Compare Kopisch's renderings in *Agrumi* (1836), or Blesig's in *Römische Ritornelle* (1860), or even Heyse's in *Italienisches Liederbuch* (1860). However the comparative artistic worth of these different reproductions be adjudged, none of them vies with Müller's in fidelity to its original, in the unexampled ease of transference.

⁴ Müller's original had evidently *E da Vignone*, etc., in line 21.

Now, who will say, after reading this translation from Italian folk-song, that Müller's appraisal of his original is not more justifiable than D'Ancona's? If there be really seams in the fabric of the Venetian *ballata*, they mark but the sewing-together of a harmonious whole. None who studies popular balladry that does not know with what an intuitive sympathy the humble artist often knits together new songs out of scarce-remembered remnants. And Wilhelm Müller was ever content to put full faith in the musicality of his ingenuous model. Like ourselves he had doubtless heard *his canzone sung* from some unseen gondola across the canal, before he met with it in print.¹ He knew it, that is, before it was stripped of its quavering tenor note of intensity, before it was prepared for division into three parts by D'Ancona.

PHILIP S. ALLEN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

¹In comparing Müller's original with its translation and noting the greater metrical smoothness of the latter, it must be remembered that in the one the syllables have been fitted to the song, in the other the song to the syllables. In the *ballata*, that is, a line with deficiency of syllables means a sostenuto note in the air, whereas an excess of syllables presumably marks a staccato bar. Cf. Busk, *Folksongs of Italy* (1887), pp. 19 f.

GALICIAN G

Although Galicia has long been politically a part of Spain, its language is not, as Castilian writers often say, a dialect of Spanish. Its real affinities are readily made clear by a comparison of almost any of the earlier phonetic developments that differ in the two official tongues of the peninsula.

Latin	Spanish	Portuguese	Galician
caelu	cielo	céu	ceo
bona	buena	boa	boa
plēnu	lleno	cheio	cheo
hodie	hoy	hoje	hoxe
januariu	enero	janeiro	xaneiro
folia	hoja	folha	folla
basiavit	besó	beijou	beixou
factu	hecho	feito	feito
illa anima	el alma	a(i) alma	ay alma

In its later history Galician has followed sometimes one language, sometimes the other. Thus *x* still retains, as in Portuguese and Catalan, the sound of English *sh*, Slavonic *š* (*u*), while Spanish has altered it to a velar fricative similar to Russian *x* in *nacxa* "Easter." On the other hand *ch*, reduced to a simple fricative in Portuguese (as in modern French), represents the same sound-group in Galician as in Spanish and English. The distinction of open and close stressed *o* seems almost entirely lost, probably through the influence of Spanish; but unstressed *o* has taken the sound of *u*, as it has in Portuguese.

In one case Galician has undergone a peculiar change unknown in the sister-tongues: a surd fricative similar to Andalusian *j*, intermediate to Castilian *j* and English *h*, has developed out of non-palatalized *g*, as in *xogo* "game," *chaga* "wound," *seguer* "follow," *longo* "long," *algun* "some," *negro* "black." This remarkable change, apparently contrary to the usual Romance laws of phonetics, reminds one of the High German shifting of sonant occlusives to surd fricatives, as in *wissen* corresponding to Slovenian

videti, Italian *vedere*; but its development was presumably something quite different.

In Spanish the surd fricatives *ç ss x* were formerly distinguished from the sonants *z s j*, as they still are in Portuguese. The loss of these sonants Galician shared with Spanish, in which they became surd some centuries ago; and this change was probably connected with that of Galician *g* into its present *h*-like sound. In the peninsular tongues there has always been a tendency to weaken the originally occlusive sounds of *b d g* to fricatives; and supposing this tendency to have been especially strong in the case of early Galician *g*, it is perfectly natural that this sonant fricative should have become surd when the others did.

Against this proposed solution of the question, the objection might be made that of the three consonants *b d g*, the one that has the least tendency to become fricative, in modern Spanish and Portuguese, is *g*. But this objection is by no means fatal, for it is not uncommon to find in a language opposite tendencies during different periods of its history or in different portions of its sound-system. French has gradually gotten rid of all its falling diphthongs, some being changed to rising ones (*ie oi ui*) and others contracted to simple vowels (*ai ei au eu ou*); but the modern language seems to be on the point of forming new ones with the help of vowelized palatal *l*. In English the tongue is generally drawn back from the teeth; in French there is just the opposite tendency. Notwithstanding this, English keeps unaltered the two dentilngual fricatives written *th* (Icelandic *ð* and *þ*), while French lost these sounds long ago. The theory of an early Galician fricative *g* therefore seems an entirely safe assumption; and it is moreover apparently the only one that will account for the modern sound.

E. H. TUTTLE

YALE UNIVERSITY

SOURCES AND ANALOGUES OF "THE FLOWER AND THE LEAF." PART II¹

CHAPTER III. THE GENERAL SETTING AND MACHINERY

Besides the central allegory and its symbolic accessories, the general setting and machinery of *F. L.*² deserve consideration. Most of the elements of the setting, making up the whole framework of the poem, are conventional. Yet even those that are most conventional require some attention, because many of them have been cited as evidences of indebtedness of the author of *F. L.* to particular poems.

THE ASTRONOMICAL REFERENCE

The first point to be noted is the fixing of the time of the poem by reference to the sun's position in the zodiac:

When that Phebus his chaire of gold so hy (1)
Had whirled up the sterry sky aloft,
And in the Bole was entred certainly.

This passage calls to mind at once a similar reference near the beginning of the prologue to *C. T.*, in which Chaucer may have been imitating either his Italian models or Boethius and earlier Latin writers. Whatever the source for Chaucer, the French poets do not seem to have cared for this device, as I do not find it in any French poem otherwise resembling *F. L.* Chaucer, however, used it a great deal, as the following passages show:

In the *Knight's Tale*, on the May morning when Arcite is to
"doon his observaunce,"

fyry Phebus ryseth up so brighte,
That al the orient laugheth of the lighte.³

¹ For valuable suggestions and assistance, in ways too numerous to mention, I should acknowledge indebtedness to Professor W. E. Mead, of Wesleyan University; Professor W. H. Schofield, of Harvard University; and the following members of the faculties of the University of Chicago: Professors Karl Pietsch, T. A. Jenkins, Philip S. Allen, John M. Manly, F. I. Carpenter, A. H. Tolman, and Dr. Eleanor P. Hammond. My obligation to Professor Manly is particularly great, for he suggested the subject, pointed out much of the material, and assisted with comment and criticism from the beginning to the end of my investigation.

² For a list of abbreviations used, see Part I of this study, *Modern Philology*, Vol. IV, p. 122, n. 2.

³ *C. T.*, A, II, 1493, 1494.

In the *Merchant's Tale*,

Phebus of gold his stremes doun hath sent,
To gladen every flour with his warmnesse.¹

In the *Franklin's Tale*, "Phebus"

Shoon as the burned gold with stremes brighte.²

In *T. C.* we have the same time as that of *F. L.* indicated in the same way:

Whan Phebus doth his brighte bemes sprede
Right in the whyte Bole.³

And at the very end of the fragmentary *Squire's Tale* is precisely the figure used in *F. L.*:

Appollo whirleth up his char so hye.⁴

Lydgate also makes striking use of the astronomical reference. In his *B. K.*,⁵ which bears many other resemblances to *F. L.*, all the essential elements of our first three lines are combined: "Phebus" and his "chaire of gold," his rapid movement, and his position in the "Bole" on May Day.

In May, whan Flora, the fresshe lusty quene, (1)
The soile hath clad in grene, rede, and whyte,
And Phebus gan to shede his stremes shene
Amid the Bole, with al the bemes brighte,

the action of the poem begins; and later the sun's "char of golde his cours so swiftly ran" (l. 595), that twilight came and gave the poet a chance to write about what he had seen. Lydgate nearly always called the sun "Phebus," and often mentioned his chariot of gold.⁶ Other imitators of Chaucer began occasionally with astronomical references, as, for example, the Scottish poets; but none with any such frequency as Lydgate.

THE SPRING SETTING

After fixing the time as indicated, our poet proceeds with a description of the joys and the beauties of spring. Such details, it is well known, are extremely common in mediæval poetry. The

¹ *C. T.*, E, ll. 2220, 2221. ² *C. T.*, F, l. 1247. ³ *T. C.*, II, ll. 54, 55. ⁴ *C. T.*, F, l. 671.

⁵ *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 245 ff. See analysis, p. 306 below.

⁶ See *Chaucerian Pieces*, XIII, l. 26; XXII, l. 30; *M. P.*, pp. 2, 6, 8, 24 ("the golden chayre of Phebus"), 96, 118, 138 ("Phebus goldene chare"), 151, 153, 156, 160, 161, 182, 194, 195, 213, 215, 216, 218, 242, 245; *Night. I.*, ll. 26, 92; *T. G.*, ll. 5, 272, note p. 69; *R. S.*, ll. 450, 3766, 4606 ("the chare of Phebus"); *Thebes*, Chalmers, Vol. I, pp. 570, 588, 603; *Isopous*, *Herrig's Archiv*, Vol. LXXXV, pp. 1 ff., ll. 86, 390; *Anglia*, Vol. IX, pp. 3, l. 30; 18, l. 33; 22, ll. 10, 15.

spring setting is almost always found in love lyrics and love allegories, on account of the natural and universal association of the springtime with love. Accordingly it would be futile, even if it were desirable, to attempt here an exhaustive treatment of mediæval "spring poetry." Only works that present, along with the conventional setting, details and circumstances resembling in some way those of *F. L.* can be examined. Accounts of such works, nearly all poetical, and arranged approximately in chronological order, will make up the remainder of this chapter.

PASTOURELLES—PROVENÇAL AND FRENCH

From very early times the *pastourelle* was a popular form of Romance poetry, with a perfectly conventional setting and situation that suggests the germ of *F. L.* In spring, when the birds sing and flowers bloom, a knight or the poet, riding through a meadow or a forest, finds a pretty shepherdess guarding her flocks and weaving garlands, sometimes of leaves, more often of flowers. Examples are so numerous that no exhaustive list can be made here.¹ The following by an unknown Provençal poet will illustrate the type:

Eu'm levei un bon mati, (5)
 enans de l'albeta;
 anei m'en en un vergier
 per cuillir violeta;
 et auzi un chan
 bel, de luenh; gardan
 trobei gaia pastorela
 sos anhels gardan.²

LI FABLEL DOU DIEU D'AMOURS

The first long French poem to be considered is the *Fablel*,³ of the latter part of the twelfth century—one of the earliest allegories based in part on Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* and preparing

¹ See Mahn, *Gedichte der Troubadours*, Vol. II, pp. 160, 171, 177, 211; Vol. III, p. 36; Tarbé, *Les chansonniers de Champagne aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles* (Reims, 1850), pp. 2, 13, 18, 21, 23, 122, 123, 124; Scheler, *Trouvères belges du XII^e au XIV^e siècles* (Bruxelles, 1876), p. 68; *Trouvères belges* (nouvelle série; Louvain, 1870), p. 111; Paris, *Chansons du XV^e siècle*, pp. 6, 32, 114; *Poésies de Froissart*, Vol. II, pp. 305 ff.; *Œuvres poétiques de Christine de Pisan*, Vol. II, pp. 223 ff.

² Quoted from Appel, *Provenzalische Chrestomathie* (Zweite Auflage, 1902), p. 88. The same poem is found in Mahn, Vol. II, p. 171; and in Diez, *Altromanische Sprachdenkmale*, p. 119.

³ Ed. A. Jubinal (Paris, 1834).

the way for *R. R.* As such it has been analyzed in several recent monographs,¹ but some details require attention here. After lying in bed one morning with no delight but in amorous thought, the poet fell asleep and dreamed, in part as follows:

Je me levoie par .j. matin en may, (13)
 Por la douchor des oysiaus et del glai,
 Del loussignot, del malvis et dou gai.
 Qant fui levés en .j. pré m'en entrai.
 Je vos dirai com faite estoit la praeérée;
 L'erbe i fu grande par desous la rousée.

Through the meadow ran a clear, beautiful brook that would make young any old man who should bathe in it. The poet continues:

Parmi le pré m'alai esbanoient, (33)
 Lès le rivière tout dalés .j. pendant;
 Gardai amont deviers soleil luisant:
 .J. vergié vic; cèle part vine errant.

This garden was surrounded by a ditch and a high wall; but the poet, being "courtois," was allowed to enter.

Qant jou oi [he says] des oisillons le crit, (78)
 D'autre canchon en che liu ne de dit,
 N'eusse cure, che saciés tout de fit.
 Sous ciel n'a home, s'il les oïst canter,²
 Tant fust vilains ne l'esteut amer;
 Illuec m'asis por mon cors deporter,
 Desous une ente ki mult fait a loer.
 Elle est en l'an .ii.j. fois de tel nature:
 Elle flourist, espanist et meure;
 De tous mehains garist qui li honeure,
 Fors de la mort vers cui riens n'a segure.
 Qant desous l'ente, el vergié fui assis,
 Et jou oi des oisillons les cris,
 De joie fu si mes cuers raemplis,
 Moi fu avis que fuisse en paradis.³

Then the poet heard the nightingale call the other birds about him and complain of the degeneracy of love. In the remainder of the poem we have no present interest.

¹ Langlois, *Origines et sources du Roman de la Rose* (Paris, 1890); Mott, *The System of Courtly Love* (Boston, 1896); Neilson, *Harvard Studies*, Vol. VI (1899). Professor Neilson has dealt with a large number of the works discussed in this chapter, but for a different purpose than mine. I shall not usually make specific reference to his valuable study.

² Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 37, 38.

³ Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 113-15.

DE VENUS LA DEESSE D'AMOR

The main ideas of the *Fablel* are repeated and somewhat amplified in *Venus*,¹ in which, to quote from Gaston Paris, "est décrit le 'Champ Fleuri,' jardin ou 'paradis' où règne le dieu d'amour, dont la cour est composée d'oiseaux!"² Here we do not find the dream setting of the *Fablel*—a lover has been awake all night because of love; but the springtime setting is there, presented in terms so similar that quotation is needless. In this poem a lover by chance saw Venus and three damsels of her train, somewhat as the author of *F. L.* saw the companies there described.

LE ROMAN DE LA ROSE

Much more important than the *Fablel* or *Venus* is that portion of *R. R.* written by Guillaume de Lorris.³ Not only does it present more points of resemblance to *F. L.* than any other poem written before the latter half of the fourteenth century,⁴ but it set the fashion in allegory for more than two hundred years, and was thus in a way the literary parent of nearly all the other works to which our author may have been indebted.

The poet dreams that on a beautiful May morning (described in great detail)⁵ he rose early and went forth until he came to a river, along which he wandered through a "medewe softe, swote, and grene" (l. 128), until he came to a garden (vergie) inclosed with high walls on which were portraits of the deadly sins. The noble damsel Ydelnesse (Oiseuse) opened a little wicket that let him into the garden, which he found to be like paradise (l. 648). Many birds sang there—including the nightingale and the goldfinch—as beautifully as "sirens of the sea." After listening to the birds a while, the poet followed a little path,

Of mentes ful, and fenel grene, (731)

till he reached a retreat where he found Myrthe (Dédruit) with his company, beautiful as winged angels. These people were

¹ Ed. W. Foerster (Bonn, 1880).

² *La littérature française au moyen âge*, par. 104.

³ Examined in the edition of Michel, 2 vols., Paris, 1864. References, however, will be to the Chaucerian version.

⁴ With the possible exception of *Les Echecs Amoureux*, which I have not seen. See the account of Lydgate's *R. S.*, p. 310, below.

⁵ Not quoted because the English version is easily accessible in editions of Chaucer. See especially ll. 49-89.

dancing while Dame Gladnes (Léesce) sang pleasantly to the accompaniment of flutes and other instruments. Here also appeared the God of Love; and after a long description of him and of various ladies in his train, the poet tells of wandering into another garden, followed by Love and some of his company.

The gardin was, by mesuring, (1349)
Right evene and squar in compassing;
It was as long as it was large;

and within it were set trees of various kinds, including medlars, laurels, and oaks. Moreover:

These trees were set, that I devyse, (1391)
Oon from another, in assyse,
Five fadome or sixe, I trowe so,
But they were hye and grete also;¹
And for to kepe out wel the sonne,
The croppes were so thikke y-ronne,
And every braunch in other knet,
And ful of grene leves set,
That sonne mighte noon descende,
Lest (it) the tendre grasses shende.

These tender grasses were

thikke y-set
And softe as any veluët; (1420)

and there were many flowers in the garden. The poet sat down to rest beneath a pine tree beside the fountain of Narcissus. Reflected in the mirror at the bottom of this fountain he saw the beautiful rosebush, surrounded by a hedge, which was the inspiration of all his later efforts. The scent of the roses particularly attracted him, for it had healing powers.² With the wounds which the God of Love inflicted upon the poet and his prolonged efforts to win for his own the most perfect rose on the bush, we are not concerned.

THE DE CONDÉS, FATHER AND SON

La Voie de Paradis, of Baudouin de Condé,³ begins with a description of springtime, which, as M. Scheler points out,⁴

¹ Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 29-32.

² Michel ed., ll. 1824, 4006, etc.

³ *Dits et contes de Baudouin de Condé et de son fils Jean de Condé*, ed. A. Scheler (Bruxelles, 1866, 1867), Vol. I, pp. 205 ff.

⁴ Note, p. 484.

bears a very strong resemblance to the corresponding description near the beginning of *R. R.* Special attention may be called to the following fragments of detail:

Lors est chel jour grans joie née, (16)
 Quar toute riens vivans s'esjoie.

.
 Sour l'ierbe qui est aroucée, (22)
 Dont la terre s'est revestue,¹

.
 Et cil bois dont teils m'estoie, (30)
 Qui en yver sont desnue,²
 Ont tout leur poure abit mué,
 Pour le temps dont cascuns s'orgueille.

.
 Quant tout bois et vergier et pré (42)
 Sont tel, n'est nus ne s'esjoisse,³
 Combien que de son cuer joie isse.

Jean de Condé, like his father, Baudouin, was especially interested in pointing a moral to adorn his tale; but he was also fond of the conventional setting. An interesting little *Debat de l'Amant Hardi et de l'Amant Cremeteus*⁴ begins with a brief but rather comprehensive description of spring, at the conclusion of which the poet tells of his entering a "moult biel vregier." Here he encounters two ladies, who are arguing a question in love casuistry which they ask him to answer.

La Messe des Oisiaus of Jean de Condé⁵ is particularly important in relation to the part taken by birds in mediæval love allegory; but a number of features should be considered here. The poet says he went to bed

une nuit de may (3)
 Tout sans pesance et sans esmay;⁶

and dreamed that he sat under a pine tree listening to the birds sing just before dawn. Of them he says:

Ains nus n'en vit tant en sa vie, (17)
 Qu'il sembloit bien que par envie

¹ Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 7, 8.

² Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 11, 12.

³ Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 13, 14.

⁴ *Dits et contes*, Vol. II, pp. 297 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, III, pp. 1 ff.

⁶ Cf. *F. L.*, l. 21.

Li uns pour l'autre s'efforchast;¹

· · · · ·
A l'oïr m'orent tost emblé (24)

Mon cuer et en joie ravi.²

Altogether the place seemed like a "drois paradis." Farther on the poet continues:

Leveis ert en haut li soliaus, (91)

Si ert li tans et clers et biaux,

Li ore douche et atemprée;

Si ert revestie la pré

De verte herbe et de flours diverses,

Blanches, jaunes, rouges et perses;

Asés y ot d'arbres divers,

De feuille viestis et couviers,

Et fuison y ot de floris.

Soon the nightingale sang mass before Venus, and other birds joined in a beautiful service:

Ki chanter les ot, bien li samble (126)

Qu'onques nul jour chose n'oïst

De coi ses cuers tant s'esjoïst.

Among the other birds the goldfinch is mentioned (l. 173) as joining in a second "alleluye." After the service love suits were presented to the goddess. A sick man in a litter was healed by the sweet odor of leaves plucked from a rose (ll. 348 ff.) A company of canonesses in white, accompanied by many knights, complained of the action of certain gray-clad nuns in enticing their lovers away. With the ensuing debate we are not here concerned.

NICOLE DE MARGIVAL

In *La Panthère d'Amours*, by Nicole de Margival,³ the spring setting is not presented; but the action in some respects resembles that of *F. L.* The poet dreams that the birds carry him to a forest full of beasts, all of which, except the dragon, follow one particularly beautiful panther, with a sweet breath that can cure all imaginable ills. After a time the beasts all disappear, and the poet, left alone, hears the sound of music and sees a great company of richly attired people approaching him, singing and

¹ Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 447, 448.

² Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 101-3.

³ Ed. H. A. Todd, Société des Anciens Textes Français (Paris, 1883).

dancing. Among them is the God of Love, their king; and under his direction the poet undertakes a search for the beautiful panther which symbolizes his lady. She is finally found in a valley surrounded by a thorny hedge. Her breath is curative like the smell of the rose in *R. R.*, the laurel and the eglantine in *F. L.*, etc. The God of Love explains to the poet all this symbolism, very much as the lady in white explains the allegory of *F. L.*

WATRIQUET DE COUVIN

Several of the poems of Watriquet de Couvin, a diligent disciple of Guillaume de Lorris during the first half of the fourteenth century, contain details similar to those of *F. L.* Most of these poems may be summarized rapidly.

In *Li Dis de l'Arbre Royal*,¹ an elaborate compliment to the descendants of Philippe le Bel, the poet dreams that he is

En .i. bel vergier verdoiant, (20)
Loing de la ville, en .i. destour,
Enclos d'un haut mur tout entour.

He wanders, listening to the birds, till he comes to a wonderful tree—such a tree as was never seen before "en terre ne en mer."² Some lines farther on he continues:

Atant souz l'arbre errant m'assis, (118)
Que je ne voil plus atargier,
S'esgardai aval le vergier
Que de biaux iert suppelatis,
.....
Ou douz mois qu'arbres rapareille
Flors et fueilles pour lui couvrir.

The scene of the *Tournois des Dames*³ is the "haute forest de Bouloigne," which is

plains de si grant melodie (33)
En avril quant li bois verdie,
Que nulz croire ne le porroit,
Qui li douz rousignol orroit
Chanter en icelle saison.

¹ *Dits de Watriquet de Couvin*, ed. A. Scheler (Bruxelles, 1868), pp. 83 ff.

² Cf. the description of the laurel and medlar trees in *F. L.*, ll. 86-93, 100-12.

³ *Dits*, pp. 251 ff.

Then after further description of the birds' song, the poet remarks:

Je ne sai d'autrui, mais à mi (52)
 Semble de l'ostel et de l'estre
 Ce soit fins paradis terrestre,¹
 Tant est de melodie plains.

And again:

Et puis i refont si grant noise (64)
 Cil autres oiselés menus,
 Qu'il n'est hons joenes ne chanus
 Grant deduit n'i poist avoir.

The goldfinch is mentioned among other birds.

*Li Dis de l'Escharbote*² also begins with a spring setting. The poet enters a garden, falls asleep, and dreams that he encounters a "sergent," very noble and courteous, in whose company he journeys through a valley to a beautiful city that seems like an "earthly paradise." This city is the world, in which blind Fortune reigns as mistress; and its inhabitants, following her lead in caring for nothing but pleasure, are precipitated into the bottom of the valley. They are like the "escharbote,"

Qui vole par les haus vergiez (211)
 De fleurs et de feuilles chargiez,
 Où li roussignols chante et crie.³

Of all the poems of Watrquet de Couvin, however, *Li Dis de la Fontaine d'Amours*⁴ presents the most details worth citation. One morning in spring the poet says he found

Un vergier de lonc temps planté (7)
 Où d'arbres avoit grant plenté,
 Qui fait avoient couverture
 Et de couleur de maint tainture.
 Lors entrai dedenz sanz esmai
 En ce jolif termine en mai,
 Qu'oiselés de chanter s'esforce
 Au miex qu'il puet selonc sa force;
 En plusieurs liex, par divers chans,
 Mainent joie a ville et à champs,

¹Cf. *F. L.*, l. 115.

²*Ibid.*, pp. 397 ff.

³In contrast with the usual signification of the colors, as noted in chap. ii above, the members of this company, with their slight resemblance to the green-clad followers of the Flower, are clad in white. No specific significance is attached to the color, however.

⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 101 ff.

Et toute riens iert en delis.

Tant iert plains de grant melodie (23)

Cis vergiers, n'est hons qui vous die

Ne fame, de sa biauté nombre.

Pour reposer visai .i. ombre

Par desouz une ente florie,

Soutilment par compas norrie,

Et tainte en diverse couleur;

N'est hons, tant eüst de douleur,¹

Qu'à l'oudeur ne fust alegiez.

In this delightful place is the beautiful fountain of love, the subject of the poem.²

GUILLAUME DE MACHAUT

The poets and poems heretofore discussed, except *R. R.*, are of value in this investigation rather as showing how conventional certain elements of setting and machinery became, than as very likely to have had any direct influence upon the author of *F. L.* The case is different with a group of French poets now to be considered.

Oldest of these, and in many ways the master of the school, was Guillaume de Machaut. The opening lines of his *Dit du Vergier* were among the first French sources specifically suggested for *F. L.*,³ and deserve citation here:

Quant la douce saison repaire⁴
D'esté, qui maint amant esclaire,
Que prez et bois sont en verdour
Et li oisillon par baudour
Chantent, et par envoiseure,
Chascuns le chant de sa nature,
Pour la douceur du temps féri,⁵
Ou doulz mois d'avril le joli,
Me levay par un matinet,

¹ Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 81-84.

² Other poems by Watrquet with the spring setting are (1) "*Li Miroirs as Dames*" (*Dits*, pp. 1 ff.); (2) "*Li Dis de l'Iraigne et du Crapot*" (pp. 65 ff.); (3) "*Li Diades .IIII. Sieges*" (pp. 163 ff.); (4) "*Li Dis des .VIII. Couleurs*" (pp. 311 ff.). In (2) and (3) the scene is a "vergier;" in all the song of the birds is prominent; in (2) the poet falls asleep beneath a "buisson" and dreams. The nightingale and the hawthorn are several times mentioned.

³ By Sandras, *Étude sur Chaucer*, p. 98. I quote from *Œuvres choisies de Machaut*, ed. Tarbé (Paris, 1849), pp. 11 ff. The text differs in some details from that given by Sandras.

⁴ Cf. *F. L.*, l. 15.

⁵ Sandras, *séri*.

Et entray en un jardinet
 Où il havoit arbres plusieurs,
 Flori de diverses couleurs.
 Si trouvay une sentelette¹
 Plainne de rousée et d'erbette,
 Par où j'alai sans atargier;
 Tant qu'à l'entrée d'un vergier
 Me fist adventure apporter.²
 S'entray pour moy déporter
 Pleins d'amoureuse maladie,
 Et pour oir le mélodie
 Des oisillons qui ens estoient,³
 Qui si très doucement chantoient
 Que bouche ne le porroit dire:
 N'ons home vivans n'ot tant d'ire
 Que s'il peust leur chant oïr
 Qu'il ne s'en deust resjoir,
 [En son cuer, et que sans sejour
 N'entroubliast toute douleur.]⁴
 Tant avoit en eulx de deliz.

When the poet heard the songs of the birds, especially of the nightingale, which sounded above all others, he went into the most beautiful garden he had ever seen, all sown with flowers of diverse colors, and planted with green and flowering trees.

S'ot en milieu un arbrissel
 De fleurs et de feuilles si bel,
 Si bel, si gent, si agréable
 Si tres plaisant, si délitale
 Et plein de si très bonne odour,
 Que nulz n'en auroit la savour,
 Tout fust ses cuers déconfortez⁵
 Qu'il ne fust tout réconfortez.

.
 Je ne scay que ce pooit estre
 Fors que le paradis terrestre.

From this place the poet passed into a meadow, where he had a vision, as follows:

Car il m'est vis que je veoie
 Au joli prael où j'estoie
 La plus très belle compaignie

¹ Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 43-45.

² *Sandras aporcer.*

³ *F. L.*, ll. 37, 38.

⁴ Not in Tarbé.

⁵ Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 81-84.

Qu'oncques fust veue ne ole :
 La avoit-il vi Damoisiaus
 Juenes, jolis, gentils et biaux ;
 Et si avoit vi Damoiselles
 Qui à merveilles estoient belles.
 Et dessus le bel arbrissel,
 Qui estoit en mi le prael,
 Se séoit une créature
 De trop merveilleuse figure.

This was the God of Love. He wore on his head a

chappelet de rosettes,
 De muguet et de violettes.

At the poet's request the god explained the vision.

Machaut's *Dit dou Lyon*¹ also has the spring setting. The poet is roused by the song of the birds, goes into the country, and is conveyed in a magic boat to an island where he finds a beautiful garden which no one can enter who has not been faithful in love. As Sandras points out,² there are in this poem trees of uniform height and planted at equal intervals, as in *F. L.*—"genre de paysage déjà décrit par G. de Lorris et qui charmait les anciens Bretons."

*Le Dit de la Rose*³ begins with a rather brief description of a scene in May. Early one morning the poet wanders through a green meadow till he sees a "jardinet,"

Qui estoit de lès un vergier.

He enters and comes to—

un buisson d'espines
 Plein de rouses et de racines,
 Et de toutes herbes poingnans,
 Qu'au buisson estoient joingnans.
 Et si estoit par tel maistrie
 Hayes, qu'onque jour de ma vie
 Je ne vi haye ne haiette⁴
 Si bien ne si proprement faite.

¹ Extracts are found in *Œuvres choisies*, ed. Tarbé, pp. 40 ff., but I have not seen the whole poem.

² *Étude sur Chaucer*, p. 104.

³ Tarbé, *Œuvres choisies*, pp. 65 ff.

⁴ Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 61-63.

Within the inclosure surrounded by this hedge there is a very beautiful rose, the sweetness of which cures all the ills of love. Manifestly the poem is an imitation of *R. R.*

JEAN FROISSART

Certain poems by the chronicler Froissart were early suggested as possible sources of parts of *F. L.*

Le Paradys d'Amour,¹ believed to be one of his earliest productions, is the account of a dream in which the poet is admitted within the "clos" of the God of Love, and then within a delightful garden where he finds his lady. The setting presents the usual elements: fresh grass, flowers, trees; songs of birds, including the nightingale; all the beauties of a day in May. Near the end of the conventional description the poet says:

Pour mieuls oïr les oiselés, (59)
M'assis dessous deux rainsselés²
D'aube espine toute florie.

A long complaint follows, after which two ladies, Plaisance and Esperance, appear and ultimately conduct the poet to a place where, he says:

Lors regardai en une lande, (957)
Si vi une compagne grande
De dames et de damoiselles
Friches et jolies et belles,
Et grant foison de damoiseaus
Jolis et amoureux et beaus,
Qui estoient là arresté
Et de treschier tout apresté.
Tout estoient de vert vesti,
N'i avoit ceste ne cesti.
Les dames furent orfrisies,
Drut perlées et bien croisies,
Et li signeur avoient cor
D'ivoire bendé de fin or.³

The poet asks who all these people are, and receives in answer a long list of names of famous lovers. A little farther on he comes

¹ *Poésies*, ed. Scheler; 3 vols., Paris, 1870-72; Vol. I, pp. 1 ff.

² Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 117-19.

³ Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 324 ff. A portion of this passage is quoted by Sandras, *Étude sur Chaucer*, p. 101; but is erroneously said to be from *Le Temple d'Honneur*.

to the tent of the God of Love, to whom he sings a lay that is favorably received. After this interruption, the poet and his guides go on through a shady forest, singing and dancing, till they come to a meadow,

Où vert faisoit, plaisant et bel, (1456)
 Tout enclos de vermaus rosiers,
 D'anqueliers et de lisiers,
 Et là chantoit li rosignols
 En son chant qui fu moult mignos.
 Si tretos que son chant oï
 Moult grandement me resjot.¹

Here he finds his lady and sings to her his ballade in praise of the marguerite.²

*L' Espinette amoureuse*³ is in general an account of Froissart's youth; but in one episode presents details of interest here, as follows:

Ce fu ou joli mois de may; (351)
 Je n'oc doubtance ne esmai,⁴
 Quant j'entrai en un gardinet;
 Il estoit assés matinet,⁵
 Un peu après l'aube crevant;
 Nulle riens ne m'aloit grevant,
 Mès toute chose me plaisoit,
 Pour le joli temps qu'il faisoit
 Et estoit apparant dou faire.
 Cil oizellon, en leur afaire,
 Chantoient si com par estri.⁶

 Je me tenoie en un moment, (380)
 Et pensoie au chant des oiseauls,
 En regardant les arbriseaus
 Dont il y avoit grant foison,
 Et estoie sous un buisson
 Que nous appellons aube espine.

At this time and place three ladies, Juno, Venus, and Pallas, and a youth, Mercury, appear to the poet and present the story of the apple of discord.⁷

¹ Cf. *F. L.*, II. 102, 103.

³ *Poésies*, ed. Scheler; Vol. I, pp. 87 ff.

⁴ Cf. *F. L.*, I. 21.

² Mentioned in chap. ii, above, p. 158.

⁵ Cf. *F. L.*, I. 25.

⁶ Cf. *F. L.*, II. 447, 448.

⁷ A version of this story is also found in Lydgate's *R. S.* (see p. 310 below) introduced very much as by Froissart. Apparently the latter was imitating Lydgate's French original, *Les Echecs Amoureux*.

*Un Trettié Amourous à la Loenge dou Jolis Mois de May*¹ presents several points of interest. One day in May the poet,

Pensans à l'amoureuse vie, (1)

enters an inclosure made of rosebushes, osiers, etc., where the nightingale is singing. There, he continues:

Au regarder pris le vregié, (25)

Que tout authour on ot vregié,

De rainselés

Espeusement et dur margiet²

Et ouniement arrengié;

Au veoir les

Ce sambloit des arbrisselés

Qu'on les eulist au compas fais

Et entaillies.

D'oïr chanter les oiselés,

Leur divers chans et leur motés,

J'oe le coer lié.

There is mention of the sweet odor of leaves and flowers, and of the song of the nightingale, which like an "amorous dart" reminds the poet of his love.³

EUSTACHE DESCHAMPS

The eleven volumes in which the work of Machaut's friend and pupil, Eustache Deschamps, is now published⁴ contain, amid a great mass of didactic and satirical work, a number of references to May Day customs and several rather elaborate settings similar to that of *F. L.* The most noteworthy of these are found in *Le Lay Amoureux* and *Le Lay de Franchise*.

The former⁵ begins with a very elaborate description of spring. There is mention of the nightingale and other birds, with their songs; the renewal of meadows, fields, leaves, and flowers; of

L'aubespine que nous querons, (29)

L'esglantier que nous odorons;

¹ *Poésies*, ed. Scheler, Vol. II, pp. 194 ff.

² Cf. *F. L.*, II, 57, 58.

³ One other poem by Froissart, *Le dit dou bleu chevalier*, will be mentioned in connection with Lydgate's *B. K.* below.

⁴ Société des Anciens Textes Français, ed. De Queux de Saint-Hilaire (Vols. I-VI) and Raynaud (Vols. VII-XI), Paris, 1878-1903.

⁵ *Œuvres* de Deschamps, Vol. II, pp. 193 ff.

of "chapeaulx, qui en veult enquerre," and of

La marguerite nette et pure. (47)

Then follows an interesting description of May Day customs, telling how

princes et Roys (61)

Le premier jour de ce douz mois,
Chevaliers, dames, pucelletes,
Escuiers, clers, lays et bourgeois,

go to the woods to pick flowers, make garlands, sing songs, listen to the nightingale, and hold jousts, feasts, dances—merry-makings of all kinds—in honor of springtime and love. On such a morning as this the poet dreamed that when he was walking in a beautiful meadow, he saw, beneath a tall, green pine tree beside a brook, "un seigneur tressouverain," near whom were many people praying. In order better to see what should happen, the poet hid behind a hawthorn, and soon the God of Love appeared. The company beneath the tree was composed of the famous lovers of history and legend, as well as various allegorical characters. Some of the latter began a discussion, the burden of which proved to be that youth ought to love; and then after a time the company departed. The poet, in great fear, was discovered eavesdropping; but awoke unharmed immediately after he heard some of Love's company speak well of him.

Deschamps' *Lay de Franchise*¹ is of special importance because, as already noted, it has been singled out as a model for *F. L.*² The formal presentation of the setting in this poem is brief:

C'est qu'en douz mois que toute fleur s'avance, (8)
Arbres, buissons, que terre devenir
Veult toute vert et ses flours espanir,
Du mois de may me vint la souvenance
Dont maintes gens ont la coustume en France
En ce douz temps d'aler le may cueillir.

Le premier jour de ce mois de plaisance,

the poet goes forth at break of day thinking of his lady, who is described as a flower, the daisy.³ After a long tribute to her he continues:

¹ *Œuvres*, Vol. II, pp. 203 ff. See Vol. XI, p. 46, as to the occasion for this poem.

² By Professor C. F. McClumpha in *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. IV, cols. 402 ff. See p. 135 above.

³ See discussion of the cult of the daisy, chap. ii above.

Ainsis pensans vins par une bruiere (66)
 En un grant pare d'arbres et de fouchiere
 Qui fut fermé de merueilleus pouoir,

by means of various fortifications, elaborately described.

The poet, nevertheless, continues his pilgrimage:

Mais, en passant, vy ja dessus l'erbage (93)
 De damoiseaulx tresnoble compaignie
 Vestus de vert; autre gent de parage
 Qui portoient sarpes pour faire ouvrage
 Et se mistrent a couper le fueillie.
 Oultre passay qu'ilz ne me virent mie;
 En un busson me mis en tapinage
 Pour regarder de celle gent la vie
 Et pour oir la douce melodie
 Des rossignolz crians ou jardinage:
 "Occi icy."

Other birds also sang, including the goldfinch. Moreover:

Parmi ce bois dames et damoiseaulx (118)
 Qui chantoient notes et sons nouveaulx
 Pour la douçour du temps qui fut jolis,
 Cueillans les fleurs, l'erbe, les arbressaulx,
 Dont ilz firent saintures et chappeaulx;
 De verdure furent touz revestis.
 Cilz jours estoit uns mondains paradis;
 Car maint firent des arbres chalemeaulx
 Et flajolez dont fleustoient toubis.

The grass was covered with sweet dew, which, besides being beautiful to look at, was of material assistance in renewing the growth of grass and flowers.

After a time, during which the poet listened to various private conversations about love, he heard a great noise

yssant d'une valée (145)
 Ou il ot gens qui venoient jouter.

Of course they were on horseback, and among them was a king of wonderful prowess;

Sur un coursier fut de vert appareil, (157)
 Accompaigniez de son frere pareil;
 Contes et dus, chevaliers et barons,
 Dames y ot, dont pas ne me merveil,

Haultes, nobles, plaines de doulz acueil
Qui de chapeaulx et branches firent dons.

In the joust that follows,

L'un sur l'autre font des lances tronsons (165)
Et se portent sur terre et sur buissons.
A l'assembler n'avoit pas grant conseil,
Ainçois queroit chascuns joust a son vueil
Sanz espargnier chevaux, bras ne talons.

Then the noise ceases, and they all kneel humbly before the king, who directs them to do honor to May. Various persons speak on subjects pertaining to love, and after a time the whole company adjourns to a "plaisant hosté," with a beautiful garden beside the Marne. This house is furnished in green and gold.

The poet comes out of his hiding-place, sees the feast spread before the king and his company, and then proceeds on his journey till he finds Robin and Marion (conventional pastoral characters) sitting under a beech tree and talking about the comforts of their life in contrast with the lives of kings. The latter part of the poem has no possible relation with *F. L.*

CHAUCEUR

Since the passages from Chaucer that resemble portions of *F. L.* have nearly all been pointed out by others,¹ it will not be necessary to deal with his work at such length as its importance in this connection would otherwise justify. As I have said, the author of *F. L.* was first of all an imitator of Chaucer, and detailed resemblances to the master are too numerous to mention. Only the more important parallels in plan and setting need be considered.

In *B. D.* we find the sleepless poet, who, moreover, as in *F. L.*, knows not why he cannot sleep.² Reading makes him drowsy at last, however, and he dreams that on a May morning he was wakened at dawn by the songs of "smale foules a gret hepe," which sang a solemn service about the roof of his chamber.

Was never y-herd so swete a steven, (307)
But hit had be a thing of heven.³

¹ Especially by Professor Skeat, in *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*.

² Cf. *B. D.*, l. 34, with *F. L.*, l. 19.

³ Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 129-33.

After a time the poet rises to go hunting. While on the chase he follows one of the dogs

Doun by a floury grene wente (398)
 Ful thikke of gras, ful softe and swete,¹
 With floures fele, faire under fete,
 And litel used, hit seemed thus.

In the forest,

every tree stood by him-selve, (419)
 Fro other wel ten foot or twelve.²

With the later events of the poem we are not here concerned.

P. F. also has the dream setting. The time is St. Valentine's Day, instead of May, but the surroundings are those of spring. Wherever the poet casts his eye he sees "treës clad with leves that ay shal laste" (l. 173), including the oak and the laurel. Continuing, he says:

A garden saw I, ful of blosmy bowes, (183)
 Upon a river, in a grene mede,
 Ther as that swetnesse evermore y-now is.

 On every bough the briddes herde I singe (190)
 With voys of aungel in hir armonye;³

 Of instruments of strenges in accord (197)
 Herde I so pleye a ravissching swetnesse,
 That god, that maker is of al and lord,
 Ne herde never beter, as I gesse;
 Therwith a wind, unnethe hit might be lesse,
 Made in the leves grene a noise softe,
 Acordant to the foules songe on-lofte.⁴
 The air of that place so attempre was
 That never was grevaunce of hoot ne cold;
 Ther wex eek every holsom spyce and gras.

Under a tree beside a well the poet saw Cupid forge his arrows, while women danced about. In the sweet green garden he saw a queen, Nature, fairer than any other creature, in whose presence the birds held their parliament.

¹ Cf. *F. L.*, II, 43-45.

² Cf. *F. L.*, II, 31, 32.

³ Cf. *F. L.*, I, 133.

⁴ Cf. *F. L.*, I, 112.

In *T. C.*, just before the passage quoted in relation to the fixing of time by reference to the sun's position in the zodiac,¹ are the following interesting lines:

In May, that moder is of monthes glade,
That fresshe floures, blewe, and whyte, and rede,
Ben quike agayn, that winter dede made,²
And ful of bawme is fleting every mede.

The familiar beginning of the Prologue to *C. T.* presents many details similar to those of the first two stanzas of *F. L.*: the astronomical reference already discussed; "Aprille with his shoures sote;" the springing-up of flowers; the wholesomeness of the air, and so forth. In other parts of *C. T.* there are only a few passages to which attention need be called.

It is on a May morning that Palamon and Arcite first see Emily. She has risen before dawn,

For May wol have no slogardye a-night. (A, 1042)
The sesoun priketh every gentil herte
And maketh him out of his sleep to sterte,
And seith, 'Arys, and do thyn observaunce.'

So she walks up and down the garden, gathering flowers

To make a sotil gerland for hir hede, (1054)
And as an aungel hevenly she song.³

Again, it is when Arcite, on another May morning, has gone into the woods to "doon his observaunce" and to make himself a garland of woodbine or hawthorn leaves (A, l. 1508), that he finds Palamon in hiding.

More important than either of the passages from the *Knight's Tale*, however, is the description of May Day festivities in the *Franklin's Tale*. These took place on the "sixte morwe of May"⁴—

Which May had peynted with his softe shoures⁵
This gardin ful of leves and of floures;
And craft of mannes hand so curiously
Arrayed hadde this gardin, trewely,
That never was ther gardin of swich prys,
But-if it were the verray paradys.⁶

¹ P. 281 above. *T. C.*, II, ll. 50-53.

² Cf. *F. L.*, l. 133.

³ Cf. *F. L.*, l. 4.

⁴ Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 11, 12.

⁵ *C. T.*, F, ll. 901 ff.

⁶ Cf. *F. L.*, l. 115.

Th'odour of floures and the fresshe sighte
 Wolde han maad any herte for to lighte¹
 That ever was born, but-if to gret siknesse,
 Or to gret sorwe helde it in distresse;
 So ful it was of beautee with plesaunce.

Of all Chaucer's poems, however, the Prologue to *L. G. W.* is most important in relation to *F. L.* Its mention of the Orders of the Flower and the Leaf has been discussed.² The action of the Prologue begins with the rising of the poet before daybreak, on the first of May, in order to see his favorite flower, the daisy (B, ll. 104-8). In greeting it he kneels

Upon the smale softe swote gras,³ (118)

which is "embrouded" with fragrant flowers. The earth has forgotten his "pore estat of wintir"⁴ (ll. 125, 126), and is newly clad in green. The birds, rejoicing in the season (l. 130), sing welcome to summer their lord, among the blossoming branches of the trees. All is so delightful that the poet thinks he might

Dwellen alwey, the joly month of May, (176)
 Withouten sleep, withouten mete or drinke.⁵

Amid such surroundings he sinks down among the daisies. Then after his second mention of the strife of the Flower and the Leaf (in text B) he continues:

And, in a litel herber that I have,⁶ (203)
 That benched was on turves fresshe y-grave,
 I bad men sholde me my couche make.

When he had gone to sleep in this "herber," he dreamed that as he lay in a meadow gazing at his beloved flower, he saw come walking toward him,

The god of love, and in his hande a quene, (213)
 And she was clad in real habit grene.

She wore a "fret of gold" on her head, surmounted by a white crown decorated with flowers; so that, with her green robe and her gold and white headdress, she resembled a daisy, stalk and flower. Behind the God of Love came a company of ladies who knelt in homage to the flower.

¹Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 38, 81-84.

²Cf. *F. L.*, l. 52.

³Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 120, 121.

⁴Chap. i above.

⁵Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 11, 12.

⁶Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 49-52.

JOHN GOWER

The machinery of Gower's voluminous *C. A.* is in part of the kind under consideration. After wandering in a wood for a time one day in May, the poet finds himself in a "swote grene pleine,"¹ where he bewails his misfortunes in love. The King and Queen of Love appear, and after some talk Venus bids the poet confess to Genius, her clerk. Then follows a long discourse by Genius on the seven deadly sins, with stories illustrating all of them, which constitute the main body of the poem. In these stories there are allusions to May Day customs,² but no striking similarities to *F. L.* Finally the poet prevails upon Genius to take a letter for him to Venus and Cupid; but the deities do not look with favor upon so old a would-be lover. He swoons at the rebuff, and has a vision of a great company of lovers wearing garlands of leaves, flowers, and pearls.³ There is a sound of music, such

That it was half a mannes hele (2484):

So glad a noise for to hie;

and members of the company dance and sing joyfully. The remainder of the action is of no present consequence.

THE CUCKOO AND THE NIGHTINGALE

C. N., already mentioned a number of times,⁴ presents additional points of interest. The poet first describes the power of love, which is felt most strongly in May, when the songs of the birds and the springing of leaves and flowers cause great longing to burn in the heart. Such love-sickness, even in so "old and unlusty" a person as this poet, has made him sleepless during "al this May." At last, during one wakeful night, he recalls a saying among lovers:

That it were good to here the nightingale (49)

Rather than the lewde cuckow singe.

And then I thoghte, anon as it was day,

I wolde go som whider to assay⁵

¹ Book I, l. 113. References are to G. C. Macaulay's ed. of *Gower's Complete Works*, Vols. II, III (Clarendon Press, 1901).

² See Books I, ll. 2026 ff.; VI, ll. 1833 ff.

³ Book VIII, ll. 2457 ff. Discussed in chap. i above.

⁴ Pp. 155, 159, 163, above. *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 347 ff.

Cf. F. L., ll. 39-42.

If that I might a nightingale here;
 For yet had I non herd of al this yere,
 And hit was tho the thridde night of May.

Accordingly at daybreak he went alone into a wood "fast by," and wandered along a brook till he came to the fairest land he had ever seen.

The ground was grene, y-poudred with daisye, (63)
 The floures and the gras y-lyke hye,
 Al grene and whyte; was nothing elles sene.

He sat down among the flowers and saw the birds come forth from their nests,

so joyful of the dayes light (69)
 That they begonne of May to don hir houres!

The stream also made a noise

Accordaunt with the briddes armony (83)

such that

Me thoughte, it was the best[e] melodye (84)
 That mighte been y-herd of any mon.¹

Delighted with all these sights and sounds, the poet fell in a "sloMBER and a swow" (l. 87), in which he heard a *debat* between the cuckoo and the nightingale.

CHRISTINE DE PISAN

A number of the poems of Christine de Pisan present interesting settings or machinery.² For example, in *Le Dit de la Rose*, which has been mentioned³ in connection with symbolic orders, the poet represents that one day when a noble company saw assembled at the palace of the Duke of Orleans, the lady Loyauté appeared, surrounded by a company

De nymphes et de pucelletes (99)
 Atout chappelles de fleurettes,

who seemed to have just come from paradise. They were messengers of the God of Love, sent to form the Order of the Rose. They sang so sweetly

Que il sembloit a leur doulz chant (246)
 Qu'angelz feussent ou droit enchant

¹ Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 130, 131.

² For brief descriptions of spring see *Œuvres poétiques*, ed. Roy, Société des Anciens Textes Français (Paris, 1886-96), Vol. I, pp. 35, 112, 236, 239, etc.

³ Chap. I above, pp. 138, 139, *Œuvres poétiques*, Vol. II, pp. 29 ff.

*Le Debat de deux Amans*¹ tells of a joyful company that gathered in May to dance and make merry in one of the parks of the Duke of Orleans. Alone and sad, however, the poet sat on a bench at one side watching the assembly, till two gentlemen, one a woe-begone knight and the other a happy young squire, agreed to discuss the advantages and disadvantages of love. In company with these men and some other ladies, the poet proceeds to a "bel vergier" where the debate takes place.

*Le Livre du Dit de Poissy*² presents a very elaborate spring-time setting. In gay April, when the woods grow green again, the poet rides forth to see her daughter at the convent of Poissy. In company with her are many ladies and gentlemen, enjoying to the full the beauties of the morning. Vegetation has been freshened by the dew; nothing on earth is ugly. Marguerites and other flowers are mentioned,

dont amant et amie (107)

Font chappellez.

Birds sing in the trees and bushes under the leadership of the nightingale. All these delights could not fail to banish grief. On their journey, the company enter a pleasant forest,

Et la forest espesse que moult pris (185)

Reverdissoit si qu'en hault furent pris

L'un a l'autre les arbres qui repris

Sont, et planté

Moult près a près li chaine a grant planté

Hault, grant et bel, non mie en orphanté,

Ce scevent ceulz qui le lieu ont hanté,

Si que soleil

Ne peut ferir a terre a nul recueil.

Et l'erbe vert, fresche et belle a mon vueil,

Est par dessoubz, n'eon ne peut veoir d'ueil

Plus belle place.

At the convent where the poet's daughter lives they find it like a "droit paradis terrestre" (l. 382). The latter part of the poem presents a "debat amoureux" with which we have no present concern.

¹ *Œuvres poétiques*, Vol. II, pp. 49 ff.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 159 ff.

In Christine's *Livre du Duc des Vrais Amans*,¹ the hero, a young duke ripe for love, while out hunting one day, enters on a paved road that leads to a castle where a great company of people are disporting about their princess. As the duke and his companions draw near the castle, they are met by a "grant route" of ladies (l. 134), who welcome them most hospitably. The princess accompanies them to "un prael verdoyant" (l. 179), where she and the duke sit and talk beneath a willow beside a little stream. He falls in love with her, and henceforth his chief occupation is planning means of seeing her often. He invites her to a feast and joust, to be held in a "prairie cointe" where there are "herbarges" and "eschauffaulz" and "paveillons" (ll. 649, 653-55). In the evening the lady arrives with a noble company, including

Menestrelz, trompes, naquaires, (665)

Qui si haultement cournoient
Que mons et vaulz resonnoient.

The festivities held in her honor last several days and are very elaborately described. The jousts held are of special interest, because of the use of white and green costumes.² The remainder of the poem deals with the way in which this lady and the duke deceived her "jaloux" for a number of years.

JOHN LYDGATE

The work of Lydgate is of the utmost importance in relation to *F. L.*, not only because he was the most important imitator of Chaucer during the period when our poem was probably written, but also because a number of his early works, whether original or translated, contain passages strikingly similar to portions of *F. L.* Discussion of his works will be approximately in chronological order.³

The main part of *C. B.*⁴ begins with a description of the "chorle's" garden. It was

Hegged and dyked to make it sure and strong;

The benches turned⁵ with newe turvis grene;

¹ *Œuvres poétiques*, Vol. III, pp. 59 ff.

² Pp. 152, 153, 164, above.

³ Following §II, chap. viii, of Schick's Introduction to *T. G.*; E. E. T. S., 1891.

⁴ *M. P.*, ed. Halliwell, pp. 179 ff. Citations are from pp. 181, 182.

⁵ This should be "turved."

and there were "sote herbers." Further:

Amyddis the gardeyn stode a fressh lawrer,
Theron a bird syngyng bothe day and nyghte,
With shynnyng fedres brightar than the golde weere,
Whiche with hir song made hevy hertes lighte,
That to beholde it was an hevenly sighte,
How toward evyn and in the dawning,
She ded her payne most amourosly to synge.

.
It was a verray hevenly melodye,
Evyne and morowe to here the byrddis songe,
And the soote sugred armonye.

Lydgate's *B. K.* has already been mentioned.¹ After fixing the time very much as it is fixed in *F. L.*, the poet tells us that he awoke early and went, in the hope of finding solace for his sorrow,

Into the wode, to here the briddes singe,² (23)
Whan that the misty vapour was agoon
And clere and faire was the morowning.

On the leaves and flowers he found dew sweet as balm. Passing along a clear stream he came to

a litel wey³ (38)
Toward a park, enclosed with a wal
In compas rounde, and by a gate smal
Who-so that wolde frely mighte goon
Into this park, walled with grene stoon.

He went into the park and there heard the birds sing

So loude that al the wode rong⁴ (45)
Lyke as it shulde shiver in peces smale;
And, as me thoughte, that the nightingale
With so gret mighte her voys gan out-wreste
Right as her herte for love wolde breste.

The soil was playn, smothe, and wonder softe
Al oversprad with tapites that Nature
Had mad her-selve, celured eek alofte
With bowes grene, the floures for to cure,
That in hir beautè they may longe endure
From al assaut of Phebus fervent fere,
Whiche in his spere so hote shoon and clere.

¹ *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 245 ff.

² *Cl. F. L.*, I. 37.

³ *Cl. F. L.*, I. 43.

⁴ *Cl. F. L.*, II. 99, 100.

The air was "attempre," and gentle zephyrs blew, so wholesomely that buds and blossoms delighted in the hope of bringing forth fruit. Among the trees in the park were "grene laurer,"

the fresshe hawēthorn (71)

In whyte motlè, that so swote doth smelle;

the oak, and many others. In the midst was a spring surrounded by young grass "softe as veluēt." Its waters had magic power to

aswage¹ (100)

Bollen hertes, and the venim perce

Of pensifheed.

The poet took a long draught of this water, and forthwith was so much refreshed and eased of his pain that he started out to see more of the park. As he went through a glade he came to

a délitable place (122)

Amidde of whiche stood an herber grene²

That benched was, with colours newe and elene.

This arbor was full of flowers, among which, between a holly and a woodbine, lay a black-clad knight. To his complaint, which forms the burden of the poem, the poet listened from a hiding-place among some bushes.³

The time of *T. G.*⁴ is December, not spring; but the poem begins with an astronomical reference. After a long period of restlessness, the poet suddenly falls asleep and is

Rauysshid in spirit in [a] temple of glas. (16)

The place is "circulere in compaswise" (ll. 36, 37), and there is a wicket by which to enter. Within the poet sees pictures of many famous lovers. Before a statue of Venus kneels the most beauteous of ladies,

al clad in grene and white (299)

Enbrouded al with stones & perre.

¹ Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 81-84.

² Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 49-51.

³ Sandras (*Étude sur Chaucer*, p. 80) declared that *B. K.* is an imitation of Froissart's *Dit dou bleu chevalier* (*Poésies*, ed. Scheler, Vol. I, pp. 348 ff.). In general plan, it is true, the poems are similar, both to each other and to Chaucer's *B. D.* In details, however, *B. K.* is much more like *F. L.* than is Froissart's poem.

⁴ Ed. Schick, *E. E. T. S.*

She presents a "litel bil" to the goddess, and vows service in return for the latter's favor. She is given white and green branches of hawthorn for a chaplet and advised to be "unchanging like these leaves."¹ Finally,

with þe noise and heuenli melodie (1362)

Which þat þei [the birds] made in her armonye,

the author awoke, and resolved for love of his lady to write his "litel rude boke."

Lydgate's *Thebes*² is frankly on the model of Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*, and therefore can have no close resemblance to *F. L.* in plan; yet in many details it repays examination. Its Prologue begins with a rather elaborate astronomical reference:

Whan bright Phebus passed was the Ram
Midde of Aprill, and into the Bull came,

.
Whan that Flora the noble mighty queene
The soile hath clad in new tender greene.

At this time Lydgate says he encountered a company of Canterbury pilgrims and agreed to tell them a tale. The tale does not concern us, but at the beginning of its second part there is another bit of description of spring, including the following line:

And right attempre was the holsome aire.³

Later, as Tideus, returning from Thebes, wounded after a combat with fifty knights, comes into "Ligurgus lond," he enters a garden "by a gate small,"

And there he found, for to reken all,
A lusty erber, vnto his deuise,
Sweet and fresh, like a paradise.

Here he lay down on the grass and slept till awakened by the lark when "Phebus" rose the next day. And "Ligurgus" daughter, who every morning came to the garden "for holesomnes of aire," found him and had his wounds cared for. In Part III, as Tideus and Campaneus ride about looking for water during a terrible drought, they enter by chance "an herbere,"

¹ As already noted, p. 138 above.

² Examined in Chalmers' *English Poets*, Vol. I, pp. 570 ff. This poem was written later than *R. S.*, but is mentioned out of chronological order that the discussion of Lydgate may end with *R. S.*

³ Cf. *F. L.*, l. 6.

With trees shadowed fro the Sunne shene,
 Ful of floures, and of hearbes grene,
 Wonder holsome of sight and aire,
 Therein a lady, that passingly was faire,
 Sitting as tho vnder a laurer tree.

She leads them to a river where they quench their thirst.

The most important of Lydgate's poems in connection with *F. L.*, however, is *R. S.*, "compyled" from the French *Echecs Amoureux*, a voluminous fourteenth-century imitation of *R. R.*¹ After an address to the reader, the poet presents an elaborate description of spring² in which we find nearly all the oft-repeated details. Spring clothes all the earth "with newe apparayle;" causes "herbes white and rede" to blossom in the meadows; makes the air "attempre," and rejoices all hearts. On such a spring morning the poet lies awake, "ententyf for to here" the birds' songs, when suddenly Dame Nature appears to him (l. 206). She reproves him for wasting time in bed,

Whan Phebus with his bemys bryght (450)
 Ys reysed vp so hygh alofte,³

and the birds are "syngyng ther hourys." She advises him to go out into the world "and see if anywhere her work fails in beauty."⁴ In response to his inquiry as to the way he should take, she suggests the eastern way of Reason rather than the western way of Sensuality.⁵ After her sermon Dame Nature leaves him, and he rises. When he is "clad and redy eke in [his] array" (ll. 910, 911), he goes forth into a "felde ful large and pleyn,"

Couered with flour[e]s fressh and grene (919)
 By vertu of the lusty quene,
 Callyd Flora, the goddesse.

'It is so delightful that he forgets past events.

After a time he sees a path in which walk a company of four—Pallas, Juno, Venus, and Mercury. He is reminded of the history of each, and describes each at great length. Juno's clothing is

¹ *R. S.*, ed. E. Sieper, E. E. T. S., 1901, 1903. See also Sieper's "*Les Echecs Amoureux, eine altfranzösische Nachahmung des Rosenromans und ihre englische Uebersetzung*;" *Litterarhistorische Forschungen*, IX. Heft (Weimar, 1896).

² Ll. 87 ff.

³ Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 1, 2.

⁴ Quoted from the marginal summary in Sieper's edition, Part I, p. 15.

⁵ A resemblance to the allegory of *F. L.* has been noted, chap. i above.

Fret ful of ryche stonys ynde¹ (1400)

Venus, as already noticed,² wears a chaplet of roses. Mercury carries a flute, of which "the sugred armonye" has more effect than sirens' songs. Seeing them come toward him the author

Ful humbly gan hem salewe.³ (1838)

Mercury tells him of the golden apple and asks him to award it. He gives it to Venus and agrees to be her "lyge man" (l. 2352). She tells him of her sons—Deduit, expert in music, dancing, and games; and Cupid, the God of Love—and of the "erber grene" (l. 2538) of Deduit, the beauty of which may be compared to that of paradise. In this garden he will find a lovely maiden, but he must first know Ydelnesse, the porter.⁴

Finally Venus departs and the author enters a great forest "ryght as a lyne,"

Ful of trees, (2729)
Massiffe and grete and evene vpryght
As any lyne vp to the toppys,⁵
As compas rounde the fresshe croppis,
That yaf good air with gret suetnesse
Whos fressh beaute and grenesse
Ne fade neuer in hooete ne colde,
Nouther Sere, nor waxen olde,
.
The levis be so perdurable.

The plain about the forest is "tapited" with herbs and flowers. In the forest under an ebony tree he finds Diana, who makes clear to him her rivalry with Venus.⁶ But in spite of Diana's long account of the dangers that lurk in the garden of Deduit, and her eagerness to have the poet remain in her "forest of chastete," where

the tren in ech seson (4372)
Geyn al assaut of stormes kene
Of fruyt and lefe ben al-way grene,

he prefers to see the beauty of the world and keep his vow to Venus.

After a time he comes to the "herber" he is seeking. On the walls are pictures resembling those described in *R. R.* He is

¹ Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 152, 153.

² Chap. ii above.

³ Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 460, 461.

⁴ As in *R. R.* See above.

⁵ Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 29, 30.

⁶ Discussed in chap. ii, p. 141, above.

admitted by Ydelnesse and kindly greeted by Curtesye, who tells him the garden is intended only for sport and play and whatever may be "to hertys ese." He is "ravished" by the beauty, the "holksom ayr," the sweetness. There are herbs that would cure every malady, "freshe welle springis," nightingales singing "aungelyke" in the trees—everything, in fact, is so beautiful

That there is no man in hys wyt (5217)
The which koude ha levyd yt
Nor demyd yt in his entent,
But yif he had[de] be present.

Looking about the place he sees

Deduit and Cupide (5232)
With her folkys a gret Route,
.....
By hem self[e] tweyn and tweyn,
Ful besely to don her peyn
Hem to play and to solace.
.....
In karol wise I saugh hem goon, (5245)
And formhest of hem euerychoon
I saugh Deduit, and on his honde,
Confred by a maner bonde,
Ther went a lady in sothnesse,
And hir name was gladnesse.

Next comes a long description of Cupid, with his two bows and ten arrows. He and his train go

Euerych vpon others honde, (5534)
.....
Ay to gedre tweyn and tweyn,¹

They have all sorts of musical instruments and dance and sing beautifully. After a time the poet plays a game of chess with the beautiful maiden whom he seeks. In the midst of a long, allegorical, satirical description of the pieces, the translation breaks off at line 7042.

On the whole the resemblances between *R. S.* and *F. L.* are so varied and so striking, in both thought and form, that it seems impossible to doubt that Lydgate's poem or its original (and of course more likely the former) was familiar to our author.²

¹Cf. *F. L.*, l. 295.

²In other poems of Lydgate, especially in *M. P.*, there are details resembling various parts of *F. L.*; but I have indicated the most important parallels.

ALAIN CHARTIER

Le Livre des quatre Dames,¹ "compilé par Maistre Alain Chartier," apparently not long after the battle of Agincourt, begins with a very elaborate description of the conventional spring setting. On the pleasant morning of the first day of spring the poet goes forth into the fields in the hope of banishing his melancholy. He says:

Merchai l'herbe poignant menue,
Qui mit mon cuer hors de soucy,
Lequel auoit esté transsy
Long temps par liesse perdue.
Tout autour oiseaulx voletoient,
Et si tres-doucement chantoient,
Qu'il n'est cuer qui n'en fust ioyeux.²

He stopped in a "pourpris" of trees, thinking about his miserable fortune in love and watching a brook that ran beside a

pré gracieux, où nature
Sema les fleurs sur la verdure,
Blanches, iaunes, rouges & perses.
D'arbes flouriz fut la ceinture.

Near by was a mountain with a very beautiful grove on its slope. The poet aimlessly took a path,

Longue & estroite, où l'herbe tendre
Croissoit tres-drue, & vng pou mendre³
Que celle qui fut tout autour.

With the people whom he met along this path we have here no concern.

Chartier's *La Belle Dame sans Mercy* may be examined most conveniently in the English version once attributed to Chaucer, but in reality by Sir Richard Ros.⁴ The translator represents that, "half in a dreme" and burdened with his task of translation, he rose and made his way to a "lusty green valey ful of floures," where he managed to accomplish his work. The original poet tells of riding a long time, until he hears music in a garden and is welcomed by a party of banqueters. Among them is a woe-

¹ *Œuvres*, ed. Du Chesne, Paris, 1617, pp. 594 ff.

² Cf. *F. L.*, I, 38.

³ Cf. *F. L.*, I, 52.

⁴ *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 299 ff.

begone knight who has eyes for but one lady. After dinner there is dancing; but the poet has no heart for it and sits alone,

behynd a trayle (184)
 Ful of leves, to see, a greet mervayle,
 With grene withies y-bounden wonderly;
 The leves were so thik, withouten fayle,
 That thorough-out might no man me espy.¹

From this hiding-place he sees the sorrowful knight dance with his lady and then withdraw to "an herber made ful pleasauntly," where follows a long discussion of no interest in this study.

CHARLES D'ORLEANS AND OTHER LYRIC POETS

Among the works of Charles d'Orleans, whose ballades on the Orders of the Flower and the Leaf have been cited,² there is no long poem presenting a setting or machinery similar to that of *F. L.*; but scattered here and there with considerable frequency are allusions to such common topics as the sleeplessness of lovers,³ the joy that comes in spring, especially to lovers,⁴ the revival of plant life,⁵ the songs of the birds,⁶ and May Day customs in general.⁷

The same is true of such collections of lyric poetry as Gaston Paris' *Chansons du XV^e siècle*.⁸ Often the poets represent themselves as rising before dawn—sometimes owing to sleeplessness caused by love—and entering some beautiful garden or meadow, in which they find their ladies, or pluck flowers, or listen to the birds. Some of these poems are *pastourelles* of the type already described.⁹ Others worth special mention are numbers xlix and lxx. Scheler's collection from the *Trouvères belges*¹⁰ and Tarbé's from the *Chansonnières de Champagne*¹¹ include similar poems; as, indeed, do other collections of lyric poetry.

¹ Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 67-70.

² Chap. i above.

³ *Poésies*, ed d'Héricault, Vols. I, p. 21; II, p. 5, etc.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 31, 65, 148, 218; II, pp. 10, 114, etc.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 48, 114, etc.

⁶ *Ibid.*, I, p. 65; II, p. 115, etc.

⁷ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 65, 79; II, pp. 94, 122, 214, etc.

⁸ Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1875.

⁹ P. 283 above.

¹⁰ Pp. 35, 147; nouvelle série, p. 4.

¹¹ Pp. 26, 92.

LE DEBAT DU CUER ET DE L'OEIL

In the fifteenth-century French amplification of the Latin *Disputatio inter cor et oculum*,¹ there is a good deal of machinery corresponding in an interesting way to that of *F. L.* One May Day the poet goes out to hunt. Hearing feminine voices, he dismounts and is soon graciously greeted by a number of ladies who come from the forest, wearing chaplets of flowers, and singing with such sweetness that their song would have given new life to a heart immeasurably troubled. This company soon withdraw, but the knight is moved to search especially for one of them, who seemed to him like an angel. During his search he sees, under a pine beside a fountain, a great number of women, accompanied by gentlemen well arrayed. Two of these gentlemen invite him to join the ladies; but, unable to find his beloved in the company, he falls asleep beneath the tree, and dreams of a debate between his heart and his eye. After fruitless argument, it is agreed that the controversy shall be settled by single combat before Amours. Very rich preparations are made, with lavish use of precious stones. The company of Eye are clad in green "pervenche."² Heart has a seat of eglantine in his pavilion. Certain "escoutes," armed with marguerites, are to give the champions

De vert lorier lanches petites.

Further details are of no consequence in this place.

THE KING'S QUAIR

The much-admired poem long attributed to King James I of Scotland³ begins with a fixing of the time by astronomical reference. After passing a sleepless night—"can I nocht say quharfore"—the poet decides to tell in verse his own story. He hurries rapidly over his voyage, his shipwreck, his imprisonment by the English, till one spring day when, as he looks out of his prison window, he sees—

¹ *Latin Poems Commonly Attributed to Walter Mapes*, ed. T. Wright (Camden Society, 1841); Appendix, pp. 310 ff. The English version mentioned by Warton (*History of English Poetry*, ed. Hazlitt, Vol. III, p. 167) and by Wright (note, pp. xxiii, xxiv, in edition of Mapes), I have not seen. I understand it is soon to be printed by Dr. Eleanor P. Hammond. The Latin original is of no consequence in this study, because it does not present the setting and machinery of the French *debat*.

² A fact which should have been noted in chap. ii above, p. 150.

³ *The Kingis Quair*, ed. Skeat; S. T. S., 1884.

maid fast by the touris wall (stanza 31)
 A gardyn faire, and in the corneris set
 Ane herbere grene, with wandis long and small
 Railit about; and so with treis set
 Was all the place, and hawthorn hegis knet,
 That lyf was non walking there forby,
 That myght within scarce ony wight aspye.¹

And on the small(e) grene twistis sat (33)
 The lytill suete nyghtingale, and song
 So loud and clere, the ympnis consecrat
 Off lufis vse.

After listening to the bird's songs awhile and meditating on them,
 the poet sees walking in the garden (very much as Palamon and
 Arcite saw Emily)

The fairest or the freschest ȝong(e) floure (40)
 That euer I sawe.

He at once vows service to Venus, and bewails his plight when
 the lady leaves the garden. Finally, after

Phebus endit had his bemes bryght, (72)
 And bad go farewele euery lef and floure,

he falls asleep, and is carried in dreams to the palace of Venus.
 Here he sees "a warld of folk." A voice explains who they are—

the folke that neuer change wold (83)
 In lufe;²
 the princis, faucht the grete bataillis; (85)

and others who served love in any way. Cupid is there, and
 Venus, wearing a chaplet of roses. Venus agrees to help the
 poet in his suit. Her tears cause the flowers to grow,

That preyen men (117)
 Be trewe of lufe, and worschip my seruise.

Hence it is that,

Quhen flouris springis, and freschest bene of hewe, (119)
 And that the birdis on the twistis sing,
 At thilke tyme ay gynnen folk renewe
 That seruis vnto loue.

¹ Cf. *F. L.*, II, 67-70.

² Cf. *F. L.*, II, 485-87.

The further wanderings of the poet are of no consequence in relation to *F. L.*¹

LATER POEMS—ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH

Thus far we have been examining works which were, either certainly or possibly, early enough to have influenced the author of our poem. It now seems desirable to add very brief mention of several later works that present similar features—that belong, in a sense, to the school of *F. L.*

Professor Skeat has made much of such resemblances as there are between *F. L.* and *A. L.*,² but in reality they are not very numerous or striking, being mostly in the commonplaces of Chaucerian imitation. *A. L.* belongs much more definitely than *F. L.* to the Court of Love group.³ The time is September, not spring; but there is an "herber" of the usual sort, and a company of ladies. The action in no way resembles that of *F. L.*

Chaucer's Dream, or *The Isle of Ladies*, as Professor Skeat prefers to call it,⁴ is also in part a Court of Love poem. A "world of ladies" appear with their knights before the Lord of Love, who is "all in floures." A good many details are reminiscent of *F. L.*

Various points of resemblance between *F. L.* and *C. L.*⁵ have been pointed out in chap. ii above. Still more might be added, if minute attention were paid to details in imitation of Chaucer; but there is no important similarity between the two poems in the matter of setting and machinery.

The Scottish *Lancelot of the Laik*⁶ is of some interest as showing how the conventional setting of love allegory was sometimes taken over into other kinds of poetry. The poet tells of coming, one spring day, to a garden, which was

¹ The resemblances noted above, and in Mr. Henry Wood's article on "Chaucer's Influence on James I.," *Anglia*, Vol. III, pp. 223 ff., seem to indicate that the author of *The King's Quair* knew *F. L.*, and was directly alluding to it. If this is true, and James I was the author of the Scottish poem (an undecided question), *F. L.* must be dated earlier than Professor Skeat inclines to date it.

² *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 380-404 (text), lxi, lxx (Introduction), 535-38 (notes).

³ As stated by Neilson, *Harvard Studies*, Vol. VI, p. 150.

⁴ *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. xiv, xv. Text consulted, Chalmers' *English Poets*, Vol. I, pp. 378 ff.

⁵ *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 409 ff.

⁶ Ed. Skeat, E. E. T. S. (1865).

al about enweronyt and Ielosit (53)
 One sich o wyss, that none within supposit
 Fore to be sen with ony vicht thare owt;¹
 So dide the levis clos it all about.

There he falls asleep, and has a dream that causes him to write the story of Lancelot. Other details besides those about the garden indicate that the author knew *F. L.*²

Several of Dunbar's poems present interesting features. *The Goldyn Targe*³ has the spring setting, with a vision of a hundred ladies in green kirtles, including Venus and Flora, followed by "ane othir court," headed by Cupid and also arrayed in green. In *The Thistle and the Rose*⁴ the poet is awakened early by May, "in brycht attair of flouris," and follows her to a garden where there is an assembly of beasts and birds and flowers.⁵ *The Merle and the Nightingale*⁶ is a *debat* somewhat resembling *C. N.*, with a similar May setting. *The Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo*⁷ is also worth mention for its descriptions of spring.

Gavin Douglas, like the others of the Scottish school of Chaucer, seems to have known *F. L.* as well as the genuine works of his master.⁸ *The Palice of Honour*⁹ begins with the rising of the poet one day in May, and his entrance into a beautiful garden, where he sees a great company of ladies and gentlemen on their way to the palace of Honour. They are soon followed by the courts of Diana and Venus, the latter in a car drawn by horses in green trappings. She is accompanied by her son dressed in green.¹⁰

Sir David Lyndesay, in his *Testament and Complaynt of our Soverane Lordis Papyngo*,¹¹ tells of entering his "garth" to repose

¹ Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 66-70.

² See especially ll. 335-42, 2088-93, 2471-87. There are also apparent allusions to *L. G. W.*, as in l. 57.

³ *Poems of William Dunbar*, ed. J. Small, S. T. S. (1893); Vol. II, pp. 1 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 183 ff.

⁵ Obviously in part an imitation of Chaucer's *P. F.*

⁶ *Poems*, Vol. II, pp. 174 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 30 ff.

⁸ See P. Lange, "Chaucer's Einfluss auf Douglas," *Anglia*, Vol. VI, pp. 46 ff.

⁹ *Poetical Works of Douglas*, ed. J. Small (Edinburgh, 1874), Vol. I, pp. 1 ff.

¹⁰ This example of the use of green, together with that given above from Dunbar's *Goldyn Targe*, may be added to the list in chap. ii above, pp. 150, 151.

¹¹ *Poetical Works* (E. E. T. S.), pp. 223 ff.

among the flowers. There is the usual astronomical reference and the usual description of a spring landscape. From under

ane hauthorne grene,

Quhare I mycht heir and se, and be unsene,

the poet hears the complaint which is the burden of his work. *Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Misera-byll Estait of the World*¹ has a Prologue telling how the sleepless poet fared forth into a park one May morning before sunrise, in the hope of banishing his melancholy by hearing the birds sing. He met an old man who made a long recital of history. The setting of *The Dreame of Schir David Lyndesay*² is also of some interest.³

SUMMARY

It should now be clear that most of the elements of the setting and most of the machinery of *F. L.* were decidedly conventional before the first half of the fifteenth century. The spring setting, with almost infinite repetition of details, is found in the earliest lyrics, in nearly all the poems of the Court of Love group,⁴ occasionally in other allegorical poems,⁵ in religious poems,⁶ in *chansons de geste* and metrical romances,⁷ in political poems,⁸ and even in prose romances and treatises.⁹ The description of springtime

¹ *Poetical Works* (E. E. T. S.), pp. 1 ff.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 263 ff.

³ "The Justes of the Month of May" (Hazlitt, *Popular Poetry*, Vol. II, pp. 209 ff.), of the latter part of the reign of Henry VII, contains several passages suggesting influence by *F. L.*

⁴ See Professor Neilson's dissertation, *passim*, *Harvard Studies*, Vol. VI.

⁵ As in *Piers the Plowman*, which begins on a May morning with a vision of a "faire felde ful of folke" (B, l. 17). See also *Le chemin de vaillance*, as analyzed in *Romania*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 584 ff.; de Guilleville's *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, as translated by Lydgate (ed. Furnivall, E. E. T. S., 1890-1904).

⁶ E. g., a macaronic French and Latin Hymn to the Virgin in *Reliquiae Antiquae*, ed. Wright and Halliwell, Vol. I, p. 200; Hoccleve's *Minor Poems*, ed. Furnivall (E. E. T. S., 1892), Vol. I, p. 67; Lydgate's *Edmund*, in Horstmann's *Altenglische Legenden* (Neue Folge, 1881), p. 443, ll. 233 ff.

⁷ E. g., *Aye d'Avignon*, ed. Guesard and Meyer (Paris, 1861), ll. 2576-81; *The Bruce*, ed. Skeat (S. T. S., 1894), beginning of Book V; the *Sowdone of Babylone*, ed. Hausknecht (E. E. T. S., 1881), ll. 963 ff.; *The Squyr of Low Degre*, ed. Mead (Athenaeum Press, 1904), ll. 27 ff., 43 ff., 57, etc.

⁸ See *Political Songs of England*, ed. Wright (Camden Society, 1839), pp. 3, 63.

⁹ See, for example, a passage quoted from *Guerin de Montglave* in Dunlop's *History of Prose Fiction*, ed. Wilson (Bohn Library, 1888), Vol. I, p. 311; *Le liere des faits de Boucicault* (perhaps by Christine de Pisan), in *Memoirs pour servir à l'histoire de la France*, Vol. II, p. 226; the Prologue to *The Book of the Knight of la Tour-Landry*, ed. T. Wright (E. E. T. S., 1865). Of course other examples could be found. I have made no exhaustive search in works of this kind.

phenomena in *F. L.* most closely resembles passages in Chaucer and Lydgate.¹ The sleepless poet is a familiar figure in mediæval literature.² Because of his pretended ignorance of the cause of his sleeplessness in both *F. L.* and *B. D.*,³ indebtedness of the former to Chaucer seems extremely probable. Rising before dawn, or about dawn, and going into a pleasant meadow or grove or garden was clearly a common pleasure of poets. The most notable passages in this connection are in Machaut, Froissart, Deschamps, Chaucer, and Lydgate. The regularity of the grove in *F. L.* appears to have been suggested by either Lydgate's *R. S.*, or Chaucer's *B. D.*, with a line of indebtedness probably running back to *R. R.* One of the main objects of the poet's early rising is usually to hear the birds sing, especially the nightingale. The most striking parallelism in this respect appears to be, as Professor Skeat points out, between *F. L.* and *C. N.*⁴ The "path of litel brede," overgrown with grass and weeds,⁵ was found by other poets on other morning walks. In Machaut and Chartier the poet took this path aimlessly; yet here, as in so many other places, the closest resemblance is to Chaucer (*B. D.*), in the observation that the path is "litel used." The "herber" to which the path leads is found almost everywhere. In French it is usually a "vergier;" in English the form is nearly always "herber." In Chaucer's *L. G. W.*, Lydgate's *C. B.* and *B. K.*, in *F. L.* and *A. L.* this arbor is said to be "benched;" in *L. G. W.*, *C. B.*, and *F. L.*, "benched with turves"—a similarity in minute detail that indicates indebtedness of all the later poems to *L. G. W.* Usually the arbor or garden is inclosed by a hedge or a wall, and in a number of instances the poets represent themselves as in hiding. Attributing healing power to the odor of the eglantine of which the hedge is made is but one example of a very common device. The passage in *F. L.* on this subject seems most like passages in

¹Owing to the number of specific comparisons already suggested between passages in *F. L.* and in works analyzed above, I shall not usually make direct reference to previous pages of this chapter.

²See Neilson in *Harvard Studies*, Vol. VI, pp. 183, 185, 186, 190, 206, 216; Mott, *The System of Courtly Love*, p. 33; besides the instances given in this chapter.

³Repeated also in *The King's Quair*.

⁴*Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, note p. 530.

⁵*F. L.*, ll. 43-45.

Couvin's *Fontaine d'Amours*, Machaut's *Dit du Vergier*, and Chaucer's *Franklin's Tale*.

After the poet reached his "vergie" or "herber," it was his usual custom to sit down beneath a bush or a tree, and there either fall asleep and dream, or see visions without the aid of sleep. Of such visions a company like our poet's "world of ladies" and "rout of men at arms"¹ was a very common feature. Often such a company is connected with the Court of Love convention.² Sometimes there may be reference to stories of the singing and dancing of companies of fairies.³ But probably in many cases the vision was suggested by the fact that on May Day and other popular holidays such companies actually did gather to sing and dance and engage in sports of various kinds. The vogue of *R. R.* seems to have been in part responsible for the commonness of such companies in later poetry; but on account of details as to the costumes,⁴ the author of *F. L.* appears most likely to owe direct debts in this matter to Froissart's *Paradys d'Amours*, Deschamps's *Lay de Franchise*, Christine de Pisan's *Duc des Vrais Amans*, Chaucer's *L. G. W.*, Gower's *C. A.*, and Lydgate's *R. S.*

On the whole, then, only one conclusion is possible: that whatever merits of combination and expression *F. L.* may possess, its setting and machinery are a tissue of conventionalities owing most to Chaucer and his earlier imitators (a group to which our author belonged), and much—no doubt partly through Chaucer and perhaps Lydgate—to *R. R.* and the French works influenced by that poem.

CHAPTER IV. GENERAL CONCLUSION AS TO SOURCES

Before endeavoring to decide, in the light of the foregoing evidence, what were the actual sources of *F. L.*, it is desirable to examine briefly the suggestions previously made on this subject.

¹ *F. L.*, ll. 137, 196.

² See Neilson's dissertation, *Harvard Studies*, Vol. VI, *passim*.

³ This theory as to the origin of the companies in *F. L.* was suggested to me by Professor Schofield, of Harvard. In view of the frequent occurrence of such companies, however, in poems containing no clear reference to fairy lore, and in view, further, of the common mediæval pageantry in connection with all sorts of celebrations, it seems improper to assume any conscious use of fairy lore on the part of the author of *F. L.*

⁴ Discussed especially in chap. ii above.

Many of these have been mentioned already and may be dismissed rather summarily.

Dryden, in the Preface to *Fables* (1700), says *F. L.* is of Chaucer's own invention, "after the manner of the Provençals." The quoted phrase can apply only to the setting and spirit of the poem. I have found no close parallel to it in Provençal; but in certain ways it is an outgrowth of the influence of the Provençal idea of courtly love upon the French poets of the north, who in turn influenced Chaucer in his earlier work.

In Urry's edition of Chaucer (1721), the reference to the strife of the Flower and the Leaf in the Prologue to *L. G. W.* is first pointed out, and assumed to be a direct allusion to our poem. The indebtedness, however, was on the other side; *L. G. W.* is probably the most important direct source of *F. L.*

Tyrwhitt's comments on *F. L.* are only incidental, in the Appendix to the Preface to his edition of *C. T.* (1775). He doubts the accuracy of Dryden's statement that our poem is "after the manner of the Provençals," and suggests that the worship of the daisy may have been inspired by Machaut's *Dit de la Fleur de Lis et de la Marguerite* or Froissart's *Dittié de la Flour de la Margherite*.¹ Apparently, however, it is unnecessary to go farther than to Chaucer for suggestion of the part the daisy plays in *F. L.*; except in search of the "bargaret" sung by the followers of the Flower,² and of the reason for giving these followers so frivolous a character. Nevertheless it is not at all unlikely that both Machaut's and Froissart's poems on the daisy, as well as Deschamps' compliments to that flower, were known to our author, as they probably were to Chaucer.³

In Warton's *History of English Poetry* (completed 1781) there is considerable comment on *F. L.*, a large part of it in elaboration or criticism of Tyrwhitt. Thus in a footnote⁴ Warton combats Tyrwhitt's assertion that Chaucer did not directly imitate the Provençal poets. *F. L.*, he says, "is framed in the old allegorizing spirit of the Provençal writers, refined and disfigured

¹ See chap. ii above, pp. 137, 138.

² *F. L.*, ll. 348-50.

³ See Professor Lowes' article previously referred to, p. 124, n. 1, above.

⁴ *History of English Poetry*, ed. Hazlitt (1871), Vol. II, p. 298.

by the fopperies of the French poets in the fourteenth century." Farther on he analyzes our poem with some care,¹ and refers to the panegyric on the daisy in *L. G. W.*; to Machaut's and Froissart's poems on the daisy; to Margaret of Navarre's collection of poems called *Marguerites de la Marguerite des Princesses*; and to the fact that "it was common in France to give the title of Marguerites to studied panegyrics and literary compositions of every kind both in prose and verse." Then he proceeds to the suggestion that the fancies of our poet "seem more immediately to have taken their rise from the Floral Games instituted in France in the year 1324, which filled the French poetry with images of this sort." Some description of these games follows. Later, in his discussion of Gower,² Warton suggests that the tale of Rosiphele,³ of which he quotes a large part, is imitative of *F. L.* For "farther proof that the *Floure and Leafe* preceded the *Confessio Amantis*" he cites the lines from Book VIII of the latter, referring to garlands—

Some of the lef, some of the flour.⁴

One remaining reference to *F. L.* is in relation to its influence upon Dunbar's *Golden Targe*.⁵

Clearly the new matter brought forth by Warton is not of great importance. His additions in relation to the cult of the daisy show only something of its vogue long after the date of our poem, for the verses of Margaret of Navarre were not collected till 1547. His paragraph about the Jeux Floraux is full of errors; for he seems to have thought the whole of France participated in these festivities, and thus greatly exaggerates their influence in the north. I have not found any reason for believing that *F. L.* was directly influenced by the Jeux Floraux.⁶ Finally, Warton's comment on our author's relations with Gower must of course be reversed, for beyond reasonable doubt *F. L.* is later than *C. A.* Resemblances between parts of the two poems have, as I have shown,⁷ been exaggerated.

¹ *History of English Poetry*, ed. Hazlitt, Vol. III, pp. 8 ff.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 29 ff.

³ *C. A.*, Book IV, ll. 1245 ff. See chap. ii above, pp. 166, 167.

⁴ See chap. i, above, p. 134.

⁵ *History of English Poetry*, ed. Hazlitt, Vol. III, p. 209.

⁶ See chap. i above, p. 139.

⁷ Pp. 134, 135, 166, 167 above.

Godwin, in his *Life of Chaucer* (1801), analyzes *F. L.* at considerable length and praises it very highly, especially as it appears in Dryden's version, but adds very little as to sources. He combats the idea that the worship of the daisy came from Machaut or Froissart, on the ground that Chaucer himself had already originated it in *C. L.*, which he wrote in 1346! Since the best scholars are now convinced that this poem can hardly be earlier than 1500, comment is unnecessary. Godwin thinks *F. L.* "has the air of a translation," and that the original author was a woman—suggestions which are not intrinsically unreasonable, though entirely unproved.

Todd, in his *Illustrations of Gower and Chaucer* (1810), collects and elaborates the suggestions of his predecessors, but adds nothing of consequence.

Sandras, the next important commentator,¹ pursues a very different method. Practically all his suggestions are new, and most of them—although somewhat too dogmatically stated—are valuable. The introduction of *F. L.*, he says, is indebted to Machaut's *Dit du Vergier*, from which he quotes most of the portion to be found on pp. 291–93 above. He also observes that in Machaut's *Dit du Lyon* there are trees of uniform height, planted at equal intervals, as in our poem. In nearly all the *ditiés* of Machaut and Froissart he finds scenes analogous to that of the appearance of the company of ladies of the Leaf led by Diana. To two of these scenes he makes reference: in Machaut's *Dit du Vergier* and in Froissart's *Temple d'Honneur*.² His most important contribution, however, is mention of Deschamps' three ballades on the Orders of the Flower and the Leaf.³ The text of these, with an invitation to write on the same subject, he believes Chaucer may have received from Philippa of Lancaster, to whom one of the ballades is addressed.⁴ Finally Sandras suggests that the end of our poem recalls the *Lai du Trot*.

His chief error—except, of course, in the matter of Chaucerian authorship—consists in assuming too much from resemblances of

¹ *Étude sur Chaucer* (Paris, 1859).

² An error for *Paradys d'Amour*, as noted above.

³ Discussed in chap. i above.

⁴ Professor Kittredge makes a similar suggestion in *Modern Philology*, Vol. I, pp. 5, 6, without noting Sandras' previous comment.

F. L. to single works. Machaut's *Dit du Vergier* unquestionably does resemble the English poem in its setting and part of its action; but so do Deschamps' *Lay de Franchise* and Froissart's *Paradys d'Amour*—to select only two of the most notable French examples. Hence it is impossible to say dogmatically that the highly conventional introduction of *F. L.* is from one particular source. The conclusions reached in chap. iii above show the inadequacy of all Sandras' comments except in relation to the ballades of Deschamps. Some of the works he mentions may have influenced our author, but they can not be singled out to the exclusion of others. The ballades of Deschamps, however, must have had influence in the writing of *F. L.* I have already said that it seems unnecessary to assume a knowledge of the *Lai du Trot*.¹

Ten Brink, in his *Chaucer Studien* (1870), presented the earliest comprehensive and adequate proof that *F. L.* was not by Chaucer,² but added nothing in relation to sources.

Professor C. F. McClumpha, in 1889,³ suggested that Deschamps' *Lay de Franchise* was a poetic model for *F. L.* Practically all the resemblances pointed out with emphasis in his article are shown in the analysis of Deschamps' poem in chap. iii above, from which it should be clear that the *Lay de Franchise* is hardly more like *F. L.* than a number of other works.⁴ To be sure, Deschamps' young men gathering flowers are clad in green; but I have pointed out several examples of like companies similarly clad. And even the description of the jousting, which is the most significant feature of Deschamps' poem in relation to *F. L.*, seems hardly so important as a similar description in Christine de Pisan's *Duc des Vrais Amans*, because of the specific contrast of white and green costumes in the latter. These errors are akin to those of Sandras—of a negative rather than a positive sort; but in his zeal to make out a good case Professor McClumpha falls into a positive blunder of interpretation, when he says that Deschamps "attaches a brief comparison of the flower and the

¹ End of chap. ii above.

² Pp. 156 ff.

³ *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. IV, cols. 402 ff.

⁴ Most notably those first mentioned by Sandras.

leaf." He does do this in his ballades, but not in the *Lay de Franchise*. On the whole, it is quite impossible to agree that "the similarity of these two poems is so apparent that one must have suggested the other, if, indeed, a nearer relationship may not be assumed." The *Lay de Franchise* unquestionably belongs to a group of poems, any one or all of which, either directly or through Chaucer and Lydgate, may have influenced our author; but we cannot say dogmatically that it or any other one of them, particularly, was the model for *F. L.*¹

Professor Skeat, in his various comments on our poem, has made no important addition to our knowledge of its sources—has, in fact, ignored the most important suggestions previously made (by Sandras). He has, however, pointed out numerous similarities between passages of *F. L.* and of other English poems, especially those of Chaucer. Such verbal resemblances as he mentions usually indicate nothing but close imitation of Chaucer; the important resemblances in idea I have already discussed.

It must be admitted that a majority of the works most likely to have influenced our author had been pointed out before this investigation was begun. Chaucer's and Deschamps' references to the Orders of the Flower and the Leaf were known; but the latter had not been examined for specific resemblances to *F. L.* Discussion of Charles d'Orleans' ballades in this connection is new; and most of the material in the latter part of chap. i and the whole of chap. ii is here put together for the first time. No adequate idea had been given of the conventionality of the setting and machinery of our poem, and therefore too much was assumed from resemblances between *F. L.* and two poems of Machaut and Deschamps. I have pointed out almost infinite repetition of nearly all the details of the setting, and several poems which, in their combination of many such details, seem as likely to have influenced our author as Machaut's *Dit du Vergier* or Deschamps' *Lay de Franchise*. Among these are *R. R.*, the fundamental importance of which in this connection had not been recognized; Froissart's *Paradys d'Amour*; and poems by Christine de Pisan

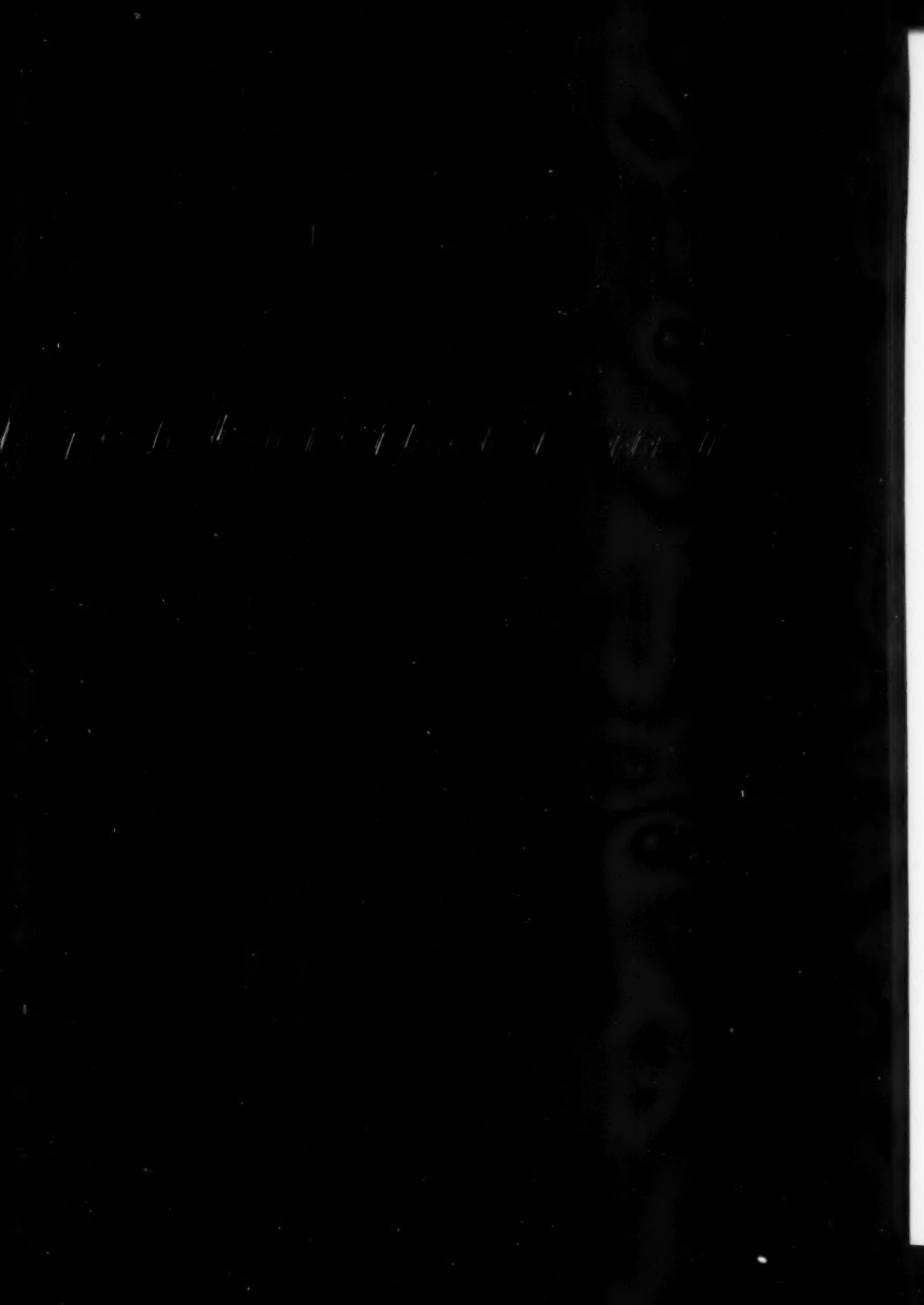
¹As an illustration of the sort of misrepresentation to which such study of sources leads, it is interesting to note that Mr. Gosse, in his *Short History of English Literature* (1898), says *F. L.* "begins as a translation of Machaut's *Dit du Vergier*."

and Lydgate (primary indebtedness to Chaucer being, of course, taken for granted). The especially interesting material from Lydgate's *R. S.* is new, as that work was not generally accessible until after this study was begun.

The conclusion as to sources must be that *F. L.* is decidedly an eclectic composition. Beyond doubt the author's first model was Chaucer; especially in the Prologue to *L. G. W.*, but also at least in *C. T.*, *B. D.*, and *P. F.* Next in importance is Lydgate, whose *R. S.*, especially, presents more different points of resemblance to *F. L.*, in both diction and idea, than any other one production I have examined. Gower's *C. A.* and later poems of the Chaucerian school, notably *C. N.*, our author probably knew. As to direct French influence there is more uncertainty, since most of the features that were French in origin had been fairly well domesticated in England before *F. L.* was written. Thus the setting and the main action of the poem are paralleled in both Chaucer and Lydgate, and the most influential French allegories in which similar setting and action are found had been translated into English. It seems practically certain, however, that our author knew Deschamps' ballades on the Orders of the Flower and the Leaf, and extremely probable that he knew other poems by Deschamps, as well as by Machaut, Froissart, and Christine de Pisan. And behind all other French influence, directly or indirectly, is *R. R.*, which the author of *F. L.* must have known in the version attributed to Chaucer, and perhaps in the original.

GEORGE L. MARSH

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



STRUCTURE AND INTERPRETATION OF *WIDSITH*

In one of the most charming of the Old Norse sagas there are related the wanderings of the skald Gunnlaug Snake-Tongue, his visits to the princes and chiefs of Norway, Sweden, Ireland, the Scottish Isles, and England. He sailed to London and sought out King Æthelred the Unready, going, as the old tale says, "straight before the king," and telling him that he had come a long distance to see him. He then asked the king's permission to recite a lay which he had composed in his honor. This was graciously granted and the song was sung. "The king thanked him for the lay and gave him as a reward for his skaldship a mantle of scarlet, richly trimmed with costly fur and adorned with gold from top to bottom, and made him his retainer, and Gunnlaug remained with the king through the winter."

There is a striking similarity between the travels of Gunnlaug, one of the later singers of the Heroic Age, and those of Widsith, told in the earliest account of the life of a Germanic minstrel which has come down to us. According to what is professedly his own narrative, Widsith, like his Scandinavian brother of some five centuries later, wandered from court to court, exhibiting his art for the diversion of kings and princes, taking part in their fortunes, and receiving from them rich gifts in recompense for his services and his skill. The element of love, indeed, is not present in the story—there is no Anglo-Saxon counterpart to the beautiful Helga, nor did Widsith engage in combats of the sort which add so much picturesqueness to the career of Gunnlaug. But the traditions of the minstrel profession appear to have been much the same, and there is in the earlier narrative something of the same independence and pride in being a member of that profession which is so conspicuous in the later tale.

It is furthermore interesting to note that the only extant manuscript copy of the poem which has been given Widsith's name was written in England at about the same time that Æthelred was entertaining Gunnlaug. This copy, while probably greatly altered

from the original form of the piece, is nevertheless of inestimable value as testimony to a particularly attractive side of early Germanic life. For whether the adventures of Widsith are wholly fictitious, or in part real, they are at least a faithful reflection of the careers of the men who kept the art of song and entertainment alive through the dark period before the Germanic peoples attained to the fuller culture of the Middle Ages. If not authentic, they are certainly typical.¹ The value of the piece to the historian of early literature, then, is obvious.² Indeed, the importance of what ten Brink has called the "earliest monument of English poetry that remains to us"³ need hardly be emphasized.

If *Widsith* is inferior in poetic quality to other pieces of lyric character in Anglo-Saxon, it is by no means wholly lacking in this respect. The passage describing the singer's relations with his lord Eadgils and with Queen Ealhild (ll. 88 ff.) serves to indicate what the general tone of the poem in an earlier form may have been. For, as will be seen, closer study shows that it has been much overlaid and defaced by the addition of inferior material, like a Gothic building rudely modernized with bricks and mortar. Unfortunately the reminiscences of heroic poetry in its best estate are all too few. It must be admitted that the chief interest of the poem lies in other directions. Perhaps its greatest value to the student of early European civilization is in just these passages of inferior poetic quality, which convey so much information in regard to the peoples and potentates of history and saga. The very features which diminish its æsthetic merit, the long catalogues of nations and rulers whom the singer is supposed to have visited, are valuable testimony to historical conditions during a period the scantiest records of which are priceless. Interesting glimpses of heroic saga are also revealed. Gifiga (l. 19) and Guthhere (l. 65) are apparently conceived of at a period earlier than the joining of the historical Burgundian elements to the

¹ Cf. Rajna, *Le origini dell' epopea francese*, pp. 39 f.: "Con tutto ciò il fondo risponde certamente a una condizione reale di cose, e se il Widsith non sarà forse andato ad Ermanrico accompagnando Ealhild, moglie del re Eadgil, suo signore, nessun poeta avrebbe finto l'andata, se fatti consimili non occorresser davvero nella vita dei poeti di corte."

² The figure of Widsith is not without significance for the history of the early drama; cf. Chambers, *The Mediæval Stage*, Vol. I, pp. 28 f.

³ *History of English Literature*, trans. Kennedy, Vol. I, p. 11.

mythical features of the Nibelungen story. The passage relating how the pride of the Heathobards was humbled at Heorot, and how Ingeld was slain, forms a tragic sequel to the hopes of Hrothgar to secure peace by the marriage of his daughter Freawaru, as told in *Beowulf*.¹ It is unnecessary, however, to comment on the significance of the list of heroes of the Dark Ages, real and fictitious, who make their appearance in *Widsith's* narrative.

The fascination of the poem is not lessened by the obscurity which surrounds its origin and growth. Its date, its value as a record of actual experience, the processes by which it has reached its present form, the interpretation of various obscure passages—all these questions and many others have been discussed with considerable fervor for upwards of fifty years. No consensus of opinion, however, has followed the disagreements of the past. The criticisms of ten Brink, Möller, Müllenhoff, Leo, Ettmüller, and others in Germany, and of Sweet, Thorpe, Wright, Brooke, and Earle in England, to mention no other names, are greatly at variance.² At the present day, one may well be excused for a feeling of perplexed indecision as to a safe middle course between conflicting theories. A more careful examination of the evidence is likely to involve one still deeper in the briars of criticism. The easiest way out, perhaps, is to call the question insoluble. Körting gives up the problem of date as "unbestimmbar."³ Professor Saintsbury, after a procession of "ifs," and a thrust of scorn at the critical methods of those who dissect early poetry, holds that the evidence is insufficient to arrive at a conclusion, and refuses to express an opinion.⁴ The argument for autobiographical value as against the hypothesis that the story is pure fiction is another important point still undetermined. Dr. Garnett recently returned to the older view that the narrative may be substantially genuine, despite interpolations.⁵ Such a cautious statement as Mr. Chambers makes, that *Widsith* was "an actual or ideal scop," would perhaps find greater favor nowadays.

¹ Cf. *Beow.*, ll. 2025 ff. and 2064 ff. with *Wids.*, ll. 45 ff.

² For bibliography to 1885, cf. Walker, *Grundriss*, pp. 318 ff.

³ *Grundriss der Gesch. der engl. Litt.* (1905), p. 27, note.

⁴ *A Short History of English Literature*, pp. 1 f.

⁵ Garnett and Gosse, *History of Eng. Lit.*, Vol. I, p. 7.

The inquirer is certainly quite in the dark as to a conservative view of the processes by which the poem reached its present form. The elaborate patchwork theory of ten Brink,¹ who distinguishes in the piece four separate lays, not including introductory and connecting material, has never been adequately criticised and refuted, although the general weakness of his method is apparently coming more and more to be recognized. One feels that the truth must lie somewhere between this and the view of Dr. Guest,² for example, who accepted practically the whole poem as the work of one man, "soon after the age of eighty," the reference to Alexander the Great being "the only instance in which he has referred to one not a contemporary." But a careful examination of the problem from the point of view of construction is still lacking. Few men have thrown as much light upon these perplexing problems as Heinzel has done, both directly and indirectly, yet we have no detailed study of the poem from his pen, while much of his most illuminating criticism is to be found in articles dealing with other subjects, which may be overlooked in collecting bibliography especially with reference to *Widsith*. In short, some of the most important questions in regard to the piece as a whole, not to mention many details, must be regarded as still awaiting solution.

It is, indeed, too much to hope to gain the whole truth in regard to the baffling old poem. Many matters connected with it must remain undetermined. The illusion that analytic criticism can find out almost everything worth knowing is rather less common nowadays than it used to be. Yet it seems unwise to go too far in the direction of the caution that takes refuge in the impossibility of gaining further knowledge. At all events, the need of a thorough re-examination of *Widsith*, in the light of modern knowledge of ethnology and saga, and of a careful review and comparison of earlier theories, is perhaps sufficient excuse for rushing in where angels have feared to tread, or have trodden unsuccessfully. A good deal has been written which may safely be pronounced untenable, as, for example, Möller's attempt to force the

¹ Paul's *Grundriss*, Vol. II, pp. 538 ff. References to the *Grundriss* in this paper are to the earlier edition.

² *History of English Rhythms*, ed. Skeat, pp. 371 ff.

entire poem into the Procrustean bed of the strophic form,¹ or Michel's notion that it reflects the mediæval conception of the seventy-two peoples inhabiting the earth.² Apart from articles exploiting special hypotheses, however, there are various suggestive criticisms of detailed points which must be taken into consideration, some of which have a most important bearing upon the interpretation of the poem as a whole. Any consistent interpretation must, indeed, rest to a very large extent upon these details. The difficulty of securing critical unanimity as to their significance is one of the stumbling-blocks to the acceptance of even the most conservative view as to the evolution of the poem. But the effort to clear up these matters is certainly worth while, in view of the importance of the piece, even if the only result were to stimulate renewed discussion.

The principal object of the present investigation, then, is, as the title indicates, to study the various processes in the evolution of the poem, and the interpretation of certain significant portions, which may lead to a decision as to the approximate date and provenience of the material, rather than to enter minutely into questions of ethnology, history, and saga.

I

Upon a hasty reading, the poem makes the impression of a jumble of heterogeneous material. A more careful examination shows that it falls into certain rather definite groups, and that the interest of the main narrative seems to be of two kinds, the details of personal experience, and the enumeration of peoples and rulers, with some historical, or avowedly historical, information added.

The whole is introduced by a short prologue:

WIDSÍÐ MAÐOLADE, wordhord onlēac,
sē þe monna mæst mægþa ofer eorþan,

¹ *Das altenglische Volksepos in der ursprünglichen strophischen Form*, pp. 1 ff. In certain parts of the poem it is quite possible that strophic structure is to be assumed, as for instance ll. 15 ff., but to extend the principle as far as Möller wished to do, and reprint the whole with stanzaic divisions, cannot be regarded as otherwise than highly dangerous—indeed, the wide application which Möller made of his general theory to AS. heroic verse is generally discredited today. Cf. Heinzel, *Anz. f. d. Alt.*, Vol. X, and note how little such strophic manipulations are likely to produce unanimity; ten Brink, Paul's *Grundriss*, Vol. II, p. 542, thinks that Möller's four-line strophes would form six-line divisions equally well.

² Paul-Braune, *Beiträge*, Vol. XV, p. 377; refuted by Bojunga, *Beiträge*, Vol. XVI, p. 545.

folca geondfærde: oft hē on flette gefāh
 mynelicne mǣppum. Him from Myrgingum
 æpelo onwōcon. Hē mid Ealhilde, 5
 fæltre freoƿuwebban, forman siþe
 Hrēðcyniges hām gesōhte,
 ēastan of Ongle, Eormanrices,
 wrāpes wærlogan. Ongon rā worn sprecañ:¹

Autobiographical matter does not follow, however. The conventional formula *ic gefrægn* (l. 10), which, so far as it implies anything, means that the poet got his information by hearsay, introduces, after the valuable observation that virtue is necessary to a successful monarch, a long list of peoples and princes. Obviously, however, there is no personal note here—these are not the ones that Widsith visited, or supposedly visited. The information is not even conveyed in the first person, but in the third.

Ætla wēold Hūnum, Eormanric Gotum; 18
 Becca Bāningum, Burgendum Gifca.

This forms a contrast to the names introduced by the phrase *ic wæs mid*, later on. The mention of Eormanric seems rather superfluous, after the prologue. Offa, king of the Angles, and Hrothwulf and Hrothgar get a longer mention, closing the somewhat incongruous collection beginning with Alexander. The whole passage (ll. 10–49) is a kind of rhymed summary of historical information. It constitutes a division of the poem by itself, the basis of it perhaps being, as ten Brink suggested, the “*uralte versus memoriales*” (ll. 18–34).²

¹The text follows that in the Grein-Walker *Bibliothek der ags. Poesie*, Vol. I, p. 1, with the addition of marking the quantity of the vowels. The punctuation has in some cases been changed. Elsewhere than in quotations, the spelling of the word *Widsið* has, for the sake of convenience, been modernized, and the marks of length omitted.

²Ten Brink was no doubt right in setting this down as a mnemonic catalogue, and one of considerable antiquity. He looked upon ll. 35–44 as a later addition made among the Angles; ll. 45–49 as having been added in Mercia, while ll. 10–13 was assigned still a different origin. Into these details it does not seem possible to venture with any certainty. If, as is likely, it constitutes one of the oldest portions of the poem, we may have to take the changes of oral transmission into account. It represents a collection of facts and traditions thought worthy of perpetuation, and so committed to verse to assist the memory. The process outlined by ten Brink is not unreasonable, but it is improbable that it is correct, since there is but such slender evidence upon which to base it.

It is worth noting that there are some interesting parallels in Old Norse. The editors of the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale* call attention to the opening lines of the *Lay of Hlod and*

The singer then takes a fresh start, this time in the first person:

Swā¹ ic geondfērde fela fremdra londa 50
geond ginne grund; gōdes and yfles
fær ic cunnade cnōsle biðæled,
frēomægum feor, folgade wide.
Forþon ic mæg singan and secgan spell,
mænan fore mengo in meoduhealle, 55
hū mē cynegōde cystum dohten.

Here, in place of the formal *ic gefrægn* stand the direct and personal *ic geondfērde*, and *ic cunnade*. More cataloguing follows, but up to the end of the narrative (l. 134) it is sustained in the first person, whether the phrase *ic wæs mid* or *ic sōhte* be the one used. It is noticeable that in the passage immediately following this second introduction, certain lines, and those the

Angantheow, remarking that they "look like a bit of a separate song, parallel to the *English Traveller's Lay*, ll. 15-35." (*C. P. B.*, Vol. I, p. 565.)

"Ar kvæða Humla Hánom ráða,
Gitzor Grýtingom, Gotom Angantý,
Valdar Daenom, eou Vao lom Kíar,
Alrekr inn fræ kni Enski þjóbo."

The short enumerative pieces which the editors call "Heroic Muster Rolls" (Vol. I, p. 353) are stated to be "manifestly the echoes of genuine older verse, and may probably contain passages borrowed from them"—which suggests a process not unlike what we may believe to have taken place in parts of *Widsith*. Manifestly, the lines in *Widsith* are similar to such verse as this:

"Alfr ok Atli, Eymundr trani,
Gitzurr gláma, Goðvarðr starri,
Steinkell stikill, Stórolfr vífill:
Hrafn ok Helgi, Hlósver ígrull,
Steinn ok Kári, Styrr ok Ali" (etc., etc.).

¹This statement "So I traversed many foreign lands," etc., following a passage which has no personal element in it, has given pause to various commentators. Müllenhoff remarks (*Haupt's Zeitschrift*, Vol. XI, p. 285): "Der zweite abschnitt wird mit vv. 50-56 eingeleitet, nach hrn Greins und der frühern herausgeber interpunction, wenn man abtheilt

Swā ic geondfērde fela fremdra londa
geond ginne grund; gōdes and yfles
fær ic cunnade u. s. w.,

muss man den ersten satz und das 'swā' auf das was vorhergeht beziehen; es würde daraus folgen dass der sänger auch alle die fürsten die er eben aufgezählt besucht habe. . . . (In ll. 18-49) zeigt der vielgereiste sänger seine erfahrung und sagenkunde; hätte er aber dort alle von ihm genannten könige besucht und selbst gesehen, was in aller welt sollte da noch das zweite, ziemlich abweichende verzeichniss von v. 57 an von völkern und zum theil auch von königen mit der ausdrücklichen bemerkung dass er bei diesen war? v. 51 muss darnach anders interpungiert und das semicolon in ein komma verwandelt werden. wir würden jetzt die unterordnung oder das verhältnis der gedanken schärfer ausdrücken als es zu einer zeit geschah wo der satzbau noch wesentlich parataktisch war. aber die folge der gedanken ist doch ganz dentlich: ich habe so—wie folgt—viele fremde länder durchreist, gutes und übles erfuhr ich da, deswegen kann ich singen und sagen u. s. w." Möller notes (Vol. I, p. 34) that this interpretation of *swā* is supported by *Beow.*, l. 2144, although he is inclined to think that there is contamination in the *Beowulf* passage itself. He regards the *swā* as an interpolation here, saying that it is "ein beliebtes interpolatorenwort." Ten Brink, too, changes *swā* to *Hwæt*. It seems well to remember that if ll. 18-49 or ll. 14-49 is an

what precedes, it consists of vivid and picturesque narrative, full of the color of real experience, and telling a connected story.

And ic wæs mid Eormanrice ealle prāge,
 prær mē Gotena cyning gōde dohte,
 sē mē bēag forgeaf, burgwarena fruma, 90
 on þām siexhund wæs smātes goldes
 gescyred sceatta scillingrime,
 þone ic Eadgilse on æht sealde,
 minum hlēodryhtne, þā ic tō hām biwōm,
 lēofum tō lēane, þæs þe hē mē lond forgeaf, 95
 mines fæder ēfel, frēa Myrginga;
 and mē þā Ealhild oþerne forgeaf,
 dryhtewēn duguþe, dohtor Eadwines.
 Hyre lof lengde geond londa fela,
 þonne ic be songe secgan sceolde, 100
 hwær ic under swegle sēlast wisse
 goldhrodene cwēn giefte bryttian.
 Ðonne wit Scilling sciran reorde
 for uncrum sigedryhtne song āhōfan,
 hlūde bi hearpan hlēopor swinsade: 105
 þonne monige men mōdum wlonce
 wordum sprēcan, þā þe wel cūþan,
 þæt hi næfre song sēllan ne hýrdon.¹

This is perhaps the most important division of the poem in connection with the questions of origin and evolution, and a very careful examination of it will presently be necessary.

The last rough division of the story (ll. 110 ff.) appears to be an enumeration of the "innweorud Earmanrices," following the statement that the singer traversed all the country of the Goths. It is hardly necessary to say that the list is an imaginary "omnium gatherum" of names, arranged, in many cases, in alliterative pairs—Secca and Becca, the latter the Bikki of the tragic story of the death of Swanhild; Eadwine and Elsa, Lombard monarchs of widely different periods; Rædhere and Rondhere, perhaps mere decorative names; so also Wulfhere and Wyrnhere. Wudga and Hama, the Wittich and Heime of Middle High German legend, are praised by the poet as "not the worst of comrades, though I name them last." There is a little glimpse of early contests against the Huns,

¹Cf. the admirable English rendering by Professor Gummere in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 1889, p. 419.

and four good lines recalling the best heroic epic manner, with their mention of the "yelling shaft that flew, whining." The narrative closes with the moralizing afterthought, clumsily expressed,

Swā ic þæt symle onfond on fære feringe,
 þæt sē biþ lēofast londbūendum
 sē þe him god syleð gumena rice
 tō gehealdenne, þenden hē hēr leofað,

—a pious reflection utterly at variance with the spirit of what precedes.

Finally, an epilogue of nine lines closes the piece, recalling rather superfluously that it is thus that the minstrels wander over the earth and gain everlasting glory.

Critics have generally agreed upon one point, that a composition full of such discrepancies in style, subject-matter, and metre, is in all probability not entirely the work of one man.¹ The passage consisting of ll. 10-49, as has been seen, does not fit into the general scheme of the whole, and has every appearance of having been composed for another purpose and utilized or inserted here. Again, it seems almost impossible that such screamingly bad verse as ll. 79 ff., with its mention of such "undings"² as *Mofdings* and *Amothings*, and its jumble of scriptural names, can have been composed by the poet of the picturesque and graceful account of Widsith's stay at the court of Eormanric, and his relations with Eadgils and Ealhild. It is difficult to imagine a *scōp* of the Christian period in England—as the biblical matter and the mention of the Picts and Scots must force us to believe him to have been—writing off this unnatural mixture of contrastingly good and bad verse, of early and late material. The matter in the "memory verses," in the earlier portion of the poem, bears signs of great age, as ten Brink has pointed out. On the other hand, the figure of Eormanric, who is so conspicuous in this poem in

¹Cf. the summary in Walker's *Grundriß*, pp. 319 ff. and 329. Heinzel, who is disposed to defend the unity of the piece so far as may be, acknowledges that it contains discrepancies which cannot be explained away: "v. 88 *And ic wæs mid Eormanrice ealle þrage* kann unmöglich derjenige sagen, der schon v. 57 erzählt hat, er sei bei den Hredgoten gewesen, noch der v. 18 den Goten Ermanarich unter jenen alten Fürsten aufgezählt hat, von denen er nur durch Überlieferung weiss." (*Anz. f. d. Alt.*, Vol. X, p. 232.) Miss Rickert (*Mod. Philology*, Vol. II, p. 370, notes that all the poems in the Exeter Book, except the *Wife's Complaint*, the fragmentary *Ruin*, and the *Riddles*, have been "edited" to a greater or less degree.

²Mallenhoff subsequently proposed to identify them with the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*. (Grein-Walker, *Bibliothek der aeg. Poesie*, Vol. I, p. 401.)

various places, was one little known to the Anglo-Saxons after their migration to Britain,¹ and it seems unlikely that a poet of the later time, as the Christian coloring would show him to have been, should have chosen to give Eormanric a prominent mention in his prologue, to have made him later one of the chief persons connected with the personal adventures of his hero, and have thought it worth while to enumerate his "innweorud" at length. Any argument supporting unity of authorship must concede that the poet was working on the basis of older material, chiefly of continental origin, and that he incorporated some of it bodily into his work. A more reasonable explanation for the stratification so generally conceded by modern critics is that the incongruous elements must have been inserted from time to time in a poem which was in its older form more consistent with itself. We have learned, indeed, not to set up a rigid standard of perfection for early poetry, and adjudge whatever does not conform to this standard to be spurious, but the discrepancies here are of another sort than literary inequality or carelessness of detail, they reveal fundamental differences of time and place and literary interest. Obviously, the chief value and attraction of the piece for the man who copied it into the Exeter Book was the information it contained. The cataloguing material occupies the main part of the narrative put into the mouth of the singer; the touches of personal experience seem insignificant by comparison. Personal interest, whether real or imaginary, made doubly conspicuous by the enumerative lists accompanying, is aroused by the kindness of Gunther and of Eadwine of Italy, the historical Audoin, father of Alboin, the longer narrative of the stay at the Gothic court, and the mention of Eadgils, Ealhild, and the brother-minstrel Scilling, with such details as the exact value of the ring bestowed by Eormanric, and the repurchasing of land belonging to the minstrel's father. It is a thousand times to be regretted for the poetic interest of the piece that Widsith does not oftener take the hearer into his confidence.

¹ Binz, Paul-Braune, *Beiträge*, Vol. XX, p. 209: "Die ganze sage von Ermenric aber ist offenbar den Angelsachsen schon bald nach der übersiedlung nach England fremd geworden; nur so lässt es sich begreifen, dass die einst im epos hervorragenden namen derselben in gebrauche des täglichen lebens gar keinen widerhall mehr finden."

We shall surely not err in looking to this thread of story for the earlier material at the basis of the poem, rather than to the lists of names, etc., which precede. Instances of expanding a tale by the interpolation of inferior matter are common enough, but to enliven cataloguing by the composition of epic verse dealing with different material, and telling a separate story, is, so far as I am aware, unheard of. It seems reasonable, then, to regard much of this ethnological tediousness as a later addition to the main theme, having crowded out earlier portions of the poem, so that the real narrative of Widsith's adventures is preserved in a fragmentary condition only.

At this point the question arises: Granted that the poem consists of elements composed at different times, how far is it possible to separate these with accuracy?

Those who are familiar with the monographs already written on *Widsith* will have recalled in the course of the present discussion various attempts which have been made in the past to distinguish clearly the different strata in the poem. It has, in fact, already been dissected *ad nauseam*. The three most detailed studies of the piece ever published have been essays in critical dismemberment. In 1858 Mallenhoff attempted to separate the interpolations, arriving at definite, though not complicated, results.¹ At the end of his article he expressed the hope that the processes of composition might be analyzed more in detail, remarking that the mere excision of interpolated passages did not mean the restoration of the original text. In regard to *Beowulf*, criticism had arrived at other results. Why not in regard to *Widsith*? This tempting opening for critical ingenuity was utilized to the fullest degree in 1883 by Hermann Möller, who evolved a theory of growth of the most complicated sort, the minutest details being carefully worked out, and the whole process of construction laid bare. Where Mallenhoff had assumed but one interpolator, Möller distinguished two, "Interpolator A and Interpolator B," quite in the manner of Mullenhoff's *Innere*

¹ Haupt's *Zeitschrift*, Vol. XI, p. 275. Mallenhoff had already discussed *Widsith* in his *Nordalbingische Studien*, Vol. I, pp. 48 ff. The divisions of the poem and the excisions, according to Mallenhoff, are as follows: Introd. 1-9; I, ll. 18-49 (except ll. 14-17); II, ll. 50-56, 57-108 (except ll. 75-87); III, l. 109-end (except ll. 131-34).

Geschichte des Bēowulfs. The whole was chopped up into lengths, and printed, as was also *Beowulf*, "in the original strophic form."¹ Finally ten Brink, carrying the "Liedertheorie" to its utmost limits, as he had already done in his *Beowulfuntersuchungen*, presented an analysis of *Widsith* even more elaborate than Möller's.² While recognizing the value of the work of his predecessors, he thought that it might, in various details, be corrected and completed. Those who are familiar with the profound scholarship, the delicate literary sense, and the laborious industry of his investigation of the *Beowulf* problem will have noticed the same qualities in the article in Paul's *Grundriss*. Granted that the method is legitimate, the work is as brilliant as that written before the latter days of his life. Yet it must bear, in direct proportion to its very elaborateness and its eager desire to leave no problem in the history of the poem unsettled, a severe weight of skepticism from those who disbelieve in the principles of higher criticism to which ten Brink subscribed. The eminence of ten Brink as a scholar, the great authority of the manual in which the work was published, and the valuable contributions made to other questions than those dealing with structure and growth have no doubt caused many to accept the whole argument without question. It is always to be remembered, too, that the essays of Müllenhoff and Möller contain a large amount of highly valuable and suggestive comment on ethnology, geography, language, history, and so forth. But the principles underlying the analysis under discussion call for most careful consideration.

The whole question of the structural character of *Widsith* depends, indeed, upon the creed of the investigator in regard to the processes through which early poetry has passed, and the ability of modern scholarship to unravel these processes. The situation is familiar from the criticism of *Beowulf*. The man who believes

¹ The details of Möller's theory are too complicated to give, even in outline. He distinguished three principal lays, I, ll. 50-108; II, ll. 88-90 and 109-30; III, ll. 10-34, besides interpolations and additions—ll. 35-49; 1-9; 82-87; 131-34; 135-43.

² For the sake of comparison, the results of ten Brink's analysis are here given. Introd. 1-9; I, ll. 10-49, 131-34; II, ll. 59-63, 68, 69, 75-81, 82-87 (7), 88, 89, 109-30; III, ll. 50-58 (read *Hwæt* in l. 50 instead of *Suð*), 64-67, 70-74, 90-108 (read *He* instead of *Se* in l. 90), 135-43. He assumed possible losses before ll. 57 and 88. For further details cf. his article, Paul's *Grundriss*, Vol. II, pp. 538-45.

in the exegesis applied to that poem by the scholars just enumerated has only to choose between their respective analyses to satisfy himself in regard to the growth of *Widsith*—making due allowance, let us hope, for the strophic theory. The fact that it must often be conceded that early poetry is patched and pieced makes the way to such a belief all the more easy. The insertion in the *Genesis*, and the proof that the parts preceding and following are the work of different men; the two, and possibly three or more hands at work on the *Seafarer*; the curious relations between the *Daniel* and the *Azarias*; the interpolations in the Old Norse *Grímnismál*—these may stand as examples of such alteration. It is not so difficult for an unprejudiced person to admit that some such additions as Múllenhoff describes may have crept into *Widsith*, however unlikely he may think it that Múllenhoff succeeded in defining their limits with certainty. Most scholars would probably hesitate to deny that some lines in *Beowulf* are interpolated, and all would agree that the present text represents a reworking and insertion, in more or less changed form, of older subject-matter probably existent earlier in other versions. But that the processes are so simple and mechanical as the adherents of the ballad-theory supposed them to be, or that it is possible to trace the history of these combinations with microscopic exactness are very different propositions. It is no purpose of the present article, however, to enter into a detailed criticism of the application of the "Liedertheorie" to Anglo-Saxon poetry. Such a criticism—which, despite various able essays, has not been satisfactorily written—would have to take a far broader scope than the limits of the present paper allow.¹ But it seems to be coming to be generally regarded as dangerous to depend upon subjective and *a priori* conceptions of Anglo-Saxon poetic style, conceptions which presuppose a high degree of smoothness and consistency and lead to elaborate and minute

¹ Cf. especially Heinzel's review of ten Brink's "*Bëowulfuntersuchungen*," *Anz. f. d. Alt.*, Vol. XV, pp. 153 ff.; and of Möller's strophic reconstructions, *ibid.*, Vol. X, pp. 220 ff.; Jellinek and Kraus, "Die Widersprüche in Beow.," *Zs. f. d. Alt.*, Vol. XXXV, N. F. XXIII, p. 265; Brandl, *Herrig's Archiv*, Vol. CVIII, p. 155; Kistenmacher, *Die wörtlichen Wiederholungen im Beowulf*, Diss., Greifswald, 1898. Häuschkel, *Die Technik der Erzählung im Beowulfliede*, Diss., Breslau, 1904; J. E. Routh, Jr., *Two Studies on the Ballad Theory of the Beowulf*, Diss., Johns Hopkins Univ., 1905. Mr. Routh gives a short introductory sketch of opinion concerning the ballad theory.

rearrangements of the text. The weakness of these processes is particularly evident when applied to poems of a lyric character.¹ On the other hand, it is perhaps equally uncritical to go too far to the opposite extreme, to shut our eyes and accept as a unity a piece which shows clear evidence of contamination. The discrepancies in *Widsith*, which are, on the whole, far more striking than those in *Beowulf*, show, as already observed, every indication of being due to something else than lack of artistic skill in the composition of verse. What one cannot reasonably attribute to a poet capable of producing the best passages in the poem, namely, the most bungling and uninspired of the cataloguing, may reasonably be laid to the account of some botching scribe or copyist. It seems proper, then, in attempting to clear up the date and composition of *Widsith*, not to disregard the alterations which it has suffered, but to endeavor to gain a general idea of the nature and probable extent of these, even though their exact limits can never be precisely defined.

The next thing to do, then, is to examine the narrative portion of the poem somewhat more attentively. If this constituted the original material, a decision in regard to its interpretation, date, and authorship must be of prime importance in settling the questions connected with the present form of the piece.

II

The most detailed and important passage in that section of the poem which professes to relate the personal experiences of the singer is the one already quoted, which deals with the stay at the court of Eormanric, his return to the Myrging country, and his pre-eminence in his art. These lines (88-108)² do not appear to have been tampered with, while the narrative preceding contains much cataloguing of the most suspicious sort, and that following, which tells of the visit to the members of the "innweorud Eormanrices," is open to the same charge. One would like to believe that the references to Gūðhere (ll. 64-67) and to Ælfwine (ll. 70-74) formed originally a part of the same story as ll. 88 ff.,

¹Cf. Boer, *Zs. f. d. Philol.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 1 ff., and criticism in *Jour. Germ. Philol.*, Vol. IV, pp. 460 ff.

²Cf. p. 337 above.

as they are similar to it in style and metre, and unlike the material in which they are imbedded. It is almost impossible to resist the conclusion that there is here preserved some of the good old piece which formed the nucleus of the present poem, much mutilated and interpolated, indeed, but still showing its presence wherever it remains by its superiority to the matter which surrounds it. Both Gūðhere, the Gunther of the *Nibelungenlied*, and Ælfwine, the historical Alboin,¹ the conqueror of Italy, would have been well-known figures to a North-German—each early gathered to himself an accretion of legend and story. It is worth while to note that they were far from being contemporary, Gunther dying in 437 and Alboin in 572. It is unnecessary to point out the presence of the Eormanric saga in this territory. Evidently this journey to the Gothic court was one of the principal exploits of the minstrel in the earlier version of the poem; it is the only one described in detail, and it is particularly mentioned in the prologue, which, though brief, gives an important piece of information in regard to the expedition, namely, that Widsith was accompanied by Ealhild.

Hē mid Ealhilde,
fæle freoƿuwebban, forman siƿe
Hrēdeƿnynges hām gešōhte;
ēastan of Ongle, Eormanrices,
wrāpes wærlogan.

¹ There is little doubt that the identification of Ælfwine, the son of Eadwine, with Alboin, the son of Audoin, is correct. The close correspondence in the names, and the fact that Ælfwine is spoken of in connection with Italy leave little doubt on this point. Müllenhoff accepted it unhesitatingly: "Eadwine, der vater Älfrines (Albuina) in Italien v. 74, und der vater der königin Ealhild v. 98, ist sicherlich ein und dieselbe person und kein anderer als der Langobardenkönig Auduin" (Haupt's *Zeitschrift*, Vol. XI, p. 278). The idea that Ælfwine was one of the chiefs who followed the expedition of Alaric (cf. n. 2, p. 355) is without foundation, and seems to have been proposed mainly because the date of the historic Alboin was too late to square with Guest's general hypothesis. The conclusion that this Eadwine is the celebrated king of the Lombards is strengthened by the recurrence of the name further on (l. 117), where an Eadwine is mentioned along with Elsa, Ægelmund, and Hungar. Ægelmund is a well-known early Lombard ruler mentioned by Paul the Deacon. Elsa is taken to be an Aliso of early Lombard records by C. Meyer, *Sprache der Langob.*, Index, cited by Heinsel, *Hervarar Saga*, p. 526 (cf. n. 3, p. 351). Binz thinks Elsa "eine aus dem Mythos herübergenommene Gestalt" (*Beitr.*, Vol. XX, p. 206). Hungar, so far as I am aware, has not been satisfactorily identified. If grouping counts for anything—and one can place little reliance upon it—this is a slight confirmatory piece of evidence. But such evidence is, indeed, hardly needed. A well-known passage from Paul the Deacon shows the familiarity of the name of Alboin to North-German tribes. "Albuin ita praeclarum longe lateque nomen perccebut ut haecenus etiam tam apud Baiuoriorum gentem quam et Saxonum, sed et alios eiusdem linguae hominis eius liberalitas et gloria bellorumque felicitas et virtus in eorum campis celebratur." (Müll., *loc. cit.*, p. 279.)

The question now arises whether this prologue is to be reckoned with in the interpretation of the poem, or is to be regarded as a wilful distortion of the story as told in the narrative portion. Möller and ten Brink, finding it impossible to make this agree with their theories, are disposed to explain it as the work of a clumsy patcher. "Dass der sänger die Gotenreise in begleitung seiner königin Ealhild machte ist gewiss nur die erfingung des verfassers dieser einleitung."¹ Why? Möller argues that nothing is said of the incident in the body of the poem, but he seems not to consider the necessity of allowing for losses, which must inevitably have taken place in such a process of growth as he postulates. Again, the discrepancy between the conception of Eormanric as a kindly monarch (ll. 88 ff.) and the stigmatizing of him here as a "wrāp wārloga" has been made much of. It was noticed long ago by Thorpe,² who assumed on this account a hiatus after l. 9. Bojunga, in 1892, tried to show in this a proof of the early date of the older parts of the poem. "Wir sind also gezwungen, die älteren bestandtheile des Widsith in eine zeit zu verlegen, in der der Ostgotenhof wegen seiner kunstsinnigkeit und freigebigkeit in den deutschen ländern allberühmt war, also sicher vor der mitte des 6ten jahrhunderts."³ Möller adduces this as a proof of the untrustworthiness of the prologue. "Der verfasser der einleitung nahm dies epitheton, das der verfasser der verse 50-130 nicht gebraucht haben könnte,⁴ ohne rücksicht auf das vorliegende zum zweck des reimes auf *worn*." Jiriczek has disposed of this by pointing out that the events narrated fall *before* the time when Eormanric earned the uncomplimentary title of the introductory lines.⁵ The connection with the Har-

¹ Möller, *loc. cit.*, p. 32.

² *Beow.*, p. 218, note.

³ Paul-Braune, *Beiträge*, Vol. XVI, p. 548.

⁴ P. 33; the italics are mine.

⁵ *Deutsche Heldensagen*, Vol. I, pp. 73 ff. After commenting upon the list of heroes connected with the mane of Eormanric in the poem, Jiriczek continues: "Dass der Dichter alle diese Personen als lebend anführt, ist natürlich kein Beweis, dass er die Sage von dem Ende der Harlungen nicht gekannt hätte; er wählte, um seinen Zweck, Katalogisierung der Helden nach dem Modell, dass der Sänger Widsið sie kennen lernt, zu erreichen, seinen chronologischen Standpunkt so, dass der Besuch des Sängers vor die Ereignisse der Sage fällt. Wenn er Eormanric gleich zu Anfang als wrāp wārloga, den bösen Treuebrecher bezeichnet, so setzt das notwendig Kenntnis der Sagen voraus, aus denen diese Bezeichnung sich ergibt. Wenn Bojunga, *Beitr.* 16, 548, meint, der Kern des Widsið setze noch die ungetrübte gotische Auffassung Ermanarichs als eines kunstsinnigen und freigebigen, erhabenen Fürsten voraus, die Eingangsverse mit seiner Verurteilung aber seien eine aus dem Geiste

lung-saga, which gave Eormanric the appellation of "wṛāp wārloga," is further carried out in the Eormanric catalogue, where Emerca and Fridla are expressly mentioned. There is surely nothing unnatural in finding an account of the visit of a minstrel to a famous king and to those who were afterwards to fall victims to his bad faith prefaced by the reminder that this was the very man of whose treachery the world had heard, although at the time when the minstrel made his tour the tragedy had not taken place. Furthermore, it would have been out of place for the singer himself to set forth a scandal like that which clung to the name of Eormanric, in a narrative whose avowed object is to relate how the great ones of the earth were good to him. Singers conventionally told of present-giving and the like—it was their business to praise their patrons. Alboin, who appears in Paul the Deacon as a cruel and barbarous king, forcing his wife to drink from a cup made of her own father's skull, is seen in *Widsith* in a wholly favorable light. There is, then, really no need of finding any discrepancy here, or of assuming a date for the main body of the poem earlier than the attachment of the Harlung-saga to the figure of Eormanric.

That the prologue was written in Britain, and consequently in all probability later than most of what follows, appears from the phrase *ēastan of Ongle*. This was explained by the earlier commentators as meaning "im osten von Angeln" (Müllenhoff), and as referring to the location of the home of Eormanric. Sievers pointed out, in considering the evidence for the situation of the Gothic people, that this translation is incorrect.¹ "Die Ansicht Müllenhoffs, Deutsche Altertums. 2, 99, dass noch das ags. Widsiðhlied die Goten 'ostwärts von Angeln' sitzend denke, beruht auf falscher Übersetzung der Worte *eastan of Ongle*, v. 9 Allerdings weiss der Wids. von Kämpfen der Hrædas gegen die Hunen *ymb Wistlawudu* v. 120, aber geographische Schlüsse lassen sich daraus nicht ziehen." The phrase does not

der späteren Sage herausgesprochene Interpolation, so kann dass—auch wenn die Interpolationstheorie richtig wäre—doch in Hinblick auf das oben erwähnte Princip des Dichters kaum gefolgert werden, zumal die Verdunkelung des Charakters Ermanarichs eben auf der Verbindung mit der Harlungensage beruht, die von Widsið bereits vorausgesetzt wird."

¹ Paul's *Grundriss*, Vol. I, p. 408.

modify *hām*, it modifies ^{or} *hē* (l. 5), and is to be rendered "(he, starting) from the east, from Angle-land hither." A valuable article by Sievers, apropos of the words *þat fram hām gefrægn* (*Beow.*, l. 194), emphasizes the peculiarities of Anglo-Saxon usage, whereby after verbs of seeing, hearing, seeking, shining, etc., adverbs denoting rest must modify the object, those denoting motion the subject of the sentence.¹ It might be expected that *Widsith* would start from the country of the *Myrgings*, but it is quite conceivable that the writer of the prologue should use the term *Ongle* loosely here. The territory of the *Myrgings* bordered upon that of the *Angles* in the old days, as l. 42 indicates. Possibly, the difference between the territory occupied by the two peoples was so small that the prologue writer thought it proper to treat the localities as roughly synonymous; possibly he thought that the use of the familiar term *Ongle* would help to fix a locality which would have been only vague under the name *Myrgingaland*. Or perhaps *Widsith*, though born a *Myrging*, started from *Ongle* on this first long journey, as the poem might show if preserved entire. There is nothing strange about his traveling "from the east hither" upon a journey which was ultimately to lead to *Eormanric*; he went from court to court, as the narrative suggests, not making a bee-line for the land of the *Goths*. The details of his itinerary will be discussed later, however. If it appears that, starting from the Low Countries, he ought to move south as well as west, it is well to remember that statements of direction are vague in early poetry. *Henrici* has emphasized this: "Die hauptsächlichen himmelsrichtungen sind für die Deutschen ost und west, die anderen treten dagegen zurück."² It would not be strange to find vagueness of location and direction in such a later addition to the poem as this. It need hardly be said that geographical uncertainty is likely to arise early in the transmutations of a story from one form to another, while the events remain clear and distinct. On the other hand, nothing could be more explicit than the statement that *Widsith* went with *Ealhild* to the home of *Eormanric*.

¹ Paul-Braune, *Beiträge*, Vol. XI, p. 334; Vol. XII, pp. 188 ff.

² *Zur Geschichte der mhd. Lyrik*, pp. 63 f.

There seems to be no sufficient reason, then, to throw out the testimony of the prologue. It is not unlikely that the man who composed it possessed some information in regard to the situation in the passage ll. 88 ff., which has not been preserved for us;¹ that a part of the poem has been crowded out, perhaps, by the evidently spurious ll. 79-87; and that this lost part would have gone far to make the interpretation of the whole poem clear. Nothing is commoner in early poetry, of course, than the elusive style of the reference to Ealhild in the prologue. It sounds like the work of a man who knew the story, and was writing for an audience familiar with it. At all events it is not hard to choose between the two hypotheses that the man who wrote the opening lines was spinning out gratuitous and unmotivated nonsense and that he was adding something which had a reasonable connection with the story. The more critical attitude is certainly to accept the testimony of the poem wherever possible, and not to regard definite statements as wilful misrepresentations if they may be otherwise explained. In the following discussion, then, the motive of Widsith's accompanying Ealhild to the Gothic court will be accepted as an integral part of the story.

Unfortunately the little tale in ll. 88 ff. is far from clear. The phrase *ealle brāge* is puzzling—Widsith remained with Eormanric *ealle brāge*. It may well refer to something preceding which has been crowded out by the Mofdings and the Amothings and the rest. The situation in the following lines raises new difficulties. The commonly accepted interpretation of the whole story of Ealhild seems to be that suggested by Ettmüller: "Eadgils sandte seine Gemahlin Ealhild zu Eormanrike, dem Gothenkönige, und gab ihr seinen Sānger Widsið zum Geleite mit."² Mr. Stopford Brooke explains it thus: "Born among the Myrgings he, [i. e., Widsith] became the singer of the court, and while still young went, in this capacity, 'with Queen Ealhild, the weaver of peace,' the daughter of Eadwine and the wife of Eadgils King of the Myrgings, to seek the home of Eormanric (Hermanrich) King of the Ostrogoths who lived 'east from Ongle;' and this was

¹ According to the view of ten Brink, the "Ordner" left out some lines preceding l. 88, which he made use of in his introduction.

² Cf. Walker, *Grundriss*, p. 322.

his first journey."¹ Kögel gives a similar outline: ". . . Der Gote *Eormanric* hat ihm einen goldenen Ring geschenkt, der 600 Schillinge wert ist. Den überlässt er seinem Landesherrn *Eādgils*, dem Fürsten der *Myrginge*, weil er ihm seinen Erbsitz, der ihm verloren gegangen war, zurückgegeben hatte. Seine Herrin *Ealhild*, die Gattin des *Eādgils*, Albuins Schwester, schenkt ihm zum Ersatze einen anderen Ring, und zum Danke dafür preist er sie in Liedern [ll. 90 ff.] als die freigebigste aller fürstlichen Frauen."²

Upon a careful examination of the lines in question, there are seen to be certain difficulties with this interpretation. In the first place, there is no statement in the poem that *Ealhild* was the wife of *Eadgils*. The question naturally arises, too, why the *Myrging* queen—as *Ealhild* is conceived to be—whose country was somewhere in North Germany about the mouths of the Elbe and Eider, should make this long journey to the distant court of *Eormanric*, the king of the Goths, somewhere in the eastern part of Europe.³ A Germanic lady of the Heroic Age could hardly have taken the trip for pleasure. The explanation given by Leo years ago, and apparently still in force today,⁴ is that she went as a "*Friedenswerberin*," a female peace-commissioner, because she is called in l. 6 *fāle freopuwebbe*, "lovely weaver of peace." After mentioning the two cycles of *Alboin* and *Eormanric* noticeable in the poem, Leo continues: "Beide sind verknüpft durch *Ealhilden*, die Tochter *Eadvyne's*, die (wie es scheint) Fürstin der *Myrgingen* (wohl *Eadgil's* Gemahlin) geworden ist, und welche als *Friedenswerberin* der *Sänger* zu *Eormanrika* begleitet."

¹ *History of Early English Literature*, p. 2. Müllenhoff objected to the arrangement of the main part of the poem as illogical, remarking that this mention of his journey as having been made to the home of *Eormanric* would lead one to expect that the enumeration would begin with that monarch or in the east (*loc. cit.*, p. 276). Yet this seems to demand an exactness of arrangement not to be found in early poetry. It is perfectly conceivable, even were the poem a unity, that the narrator might not proceed in strictly chronological fashion, but mention first other places than those visited on his earliest trip. Or perhaps this phrase was added to guard against the misconception that the mention of other travels first might lead the hearer to think they were first in point of time. Possibly *forman siþe* is not to be held to its strict meaning—Professor Gummere renders it "once." There seems to be no reason to balk at it, however.

² *Gesch. der deutschen Litt.*, Vol. I, p. 139.

³ It is impossible to locate the Goths from this poem, cf. p. 346. Probably they were placed only vaguely by those who dealt with the poem in its later forms.

⁴ Cf., for example, Chambers, *loc. cit.* For Leo's comments, cf. Walker, *Grundriss*, pp. 320 f.

It has not been hitherto pointed out, I believe, that this explanation is far from being satisfactory. In the first place, it would have been an unusual, if not an unknown proceeding to send a woman on such a mission. In the second place, the term *fæle freopuwebbe* will not bear such an interpretation. It was, rather, a formal epithet applied to a queen, as in *Beow.*, l. 1943, where it is used in describing the fierceness of Queen Thrytho. Here the formal character of the phrase appears very plainly. "Thrytho, ambitious queen of the people, showed terrible vindictiveness; no brave man among the court favorites, except her husband, durst gaze on her openly with his eyes, but he might count on deadly bonds being appointed for him, woven by hand; very soon after his seizure was the knife brought into service, so that the damasked dirk might settle it—proclaim the punishment of death. That is no queenly custom for a woman to practice, peerless though she may be, that a peace-weaver should assail the life of a valued liegeman, because of fancied insult."¹ The meaning of the epithet is clear. A queen should be a woman promoting, in a general way, good feeling, not hostility, as nowadays princes have been called "defender of the faith," not because they have ever fought for it, but because that is their general attitude toward the established religion. The Heyne-Socin glossary suggests how the term may have come to be applied to queens, interpreting it as "paxis textrix, Bezeichnung der (oft zur Befestigung des Friedens zweier Völker zur Ehe gegebenen) königlichen Gemahlin." Bosworth-Toller defines it as "peace-weaver, woman." Its significance, then, is general, not special. Care must be taken not to read too much meaning into a formal epithet of this sort. Note that the adjective *fæle* often accompanies the noun, adding still further to the formal character of the word *freopuwebbe*. So in *Elene*, l. 88, the angel who appears to Constantine is called *fæle fridowebbu*, but he does not come as a "Friedenswerber;" his mission is to announce that victory will perch on the standard of the Christian king on the morrow. It is a suitable epithet to apply to the divine messenger; it being the regular business of angels, as of queens, to promote peace in a general way. Möller regards it as

¹ Transl. J. R. C. Hall. Cf. the term *fridu-sibb folca*, *Beow.*, l. 2017.

purely mechanical: "Das epitheton das ihr hier in der einleitung v. 6 gegeben ist das allergeläufigste, das sich behufs reimes auf *forman sibe* ganz von selbst darbot,"¹ an observation which would have more point if the phrase *forman sibe* stood in the first half-line rather than in the second.

The use of the term "lovely weaver of peace" in the passage just quoted from *Beowulf* may serve to suggest the relation of Ealhild to Eormanric in the present poem. She took the long journey to the Gothic court for the most natural reason which would lead a woman in those days to travel so far—she went to become his bride. In like manner Thrytho sought the hall of Offa "over the fallow flood," and Kriemhild journeyed from Worms to Vienna to wed Etzel the Hun, her royal husband waiting to welcome her in his home. It is natural to find Widsith in the train of Ealhild on this joyful occasion, when minstrels and entertainers must have been particularly welcome, not only because they could give brilliancy to the festivities, but because they could beguile the tedium of the journey.

This interpretation is entirely contrary to the accepted view of the story, yet it will be found to be the one which best satisfies the requirements of the situation, the one which affords the most reasonable explanation of the text. It was proposed about twenty years ago by Heinzel, in a discussion of the *Hervarar saga*,² but as the comment on the passage in *Widsith* was merely incidental to the treatment of other matters, and as Heinzel did not give it more than the briefest comment, this important suggestion seems to have passed virtually unnoticed.³

It is worth while to quote Heinzel's comments in full:

Dass der Sänger Widsith mit der Frau seines myrgingischen Königs Ealhild, der Tochter des langobardischen Eadwine, seine Kreuz- und Querfahrten durch Europa unternimmt, schliesslich mit ihr einen Besuch bei König Ermanarich abstattet und sie wieder in die myrgingische Heimat zurückführt, wo er gleichsam als Lohn für die Reisebegleitung

¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 32.

² *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie* (Phil.-Hist. Klasse), 1887, Vol. CXIV, pp. 417 ff. Cf. particularly pp. 514 ff. (Also issued separately.) Cf. also *ibid.*, Vol. CXIX, *Über die Ostgothische Heldensage*.

³ The only other reference to Heinzel's discussion of this matter which I have observed is in Jiriczek's *Deutsche Heldensagen*, Vol. I, p. 73. Jiriczek accepts Heinzel's position without question.

von ihr einen Ring erhalt, ohne dass irgend ein Zweck angedeutet würde, ist unepisch und unglaublich. Der myrgingische Sänger macht vielmehr in seinem Berufe eine Fahrt an verschiedene Fürstenhöfe, kommt dabei nach Italien, das *regnum Italiae*, wie das langobardische Reich hiess, und erhält da von Alboin, dem Sohne Audoins, den Auftrag, seine Schwester Ealhild zu dem Gothenkönig Ermanarich, der um sie geworben hat, zu führen. Er entledigt sich dieses Auftrages und wird wie billig von Ermanarich dafür mit einem Ring beschenkt, den er aber, wie proleptisch erzählt wird, bei seiner Heimkehr ins Myrgingenland seinem Herrn Eadgils gibt—aber auch von Ealhild, der neuen Gothenkönigin, worauf er mit Scilling, seinem poetischen Collegen, den gotischen Hof mit seinen Liedern erfreut und verherrlicht.

Heinzel fails to note the "Friedenswerberin" argument, or perhaps prefers to ignore it as untenable. He seems to exaggerate the probable prominence of a minstrel like Widsith in the bridal expedition of Ealhild to the court of Eormanric. It is surely more likely that the minstrel must be thought of as one of a numerous company, led by some distinguished man of the Lombard court. The retinue of a noble lady, apparently the sister of Alboin, must have been a large one. As the whole poem centers about the figure of the singer, it is hard to think of him as filling a relatively subordinate place, but it seems unlikely that he would be very prominent; that the charge of escorting the bride would be placed in the hands of a minstrel, as Heinzel's words would seem to imply. Again, it is not quite clear that ll. 103-8, which describe the singing of Widsith in company with his brother minstrel Scilling, refer to events at the Gothic court. It seems quite possible that the scene may be shifted after ll. 97, 98. The train of thought runs: Ealhild (in the country of Eormanric) gave me another ring; I spread her praises over many lands, whenever I had occasion to speak of the most generous queen under the heavens. On such an occasion, when Scilling and I raised up our voices in song before our *sigedryhten* (who may be the *hlæodryhten* of ten lines preceding, i. e., Eadgils, at the Myrging court), many men of excellent judgment exclaimed that they had never heard better minstrelsy.—The mention of the travels "through many lands" makes a close logical connection between the localities doubtful. The peculiarities of

thought-sequence in Anglo-Saxon poetry must also be taken into account. A sort of interlacing of ideas is, as is well known, very common. It is quite in accordance with well-established usage to assume a double shifting of thought here, the ideas following in the order ABAB. The prologue affords a good instance of this stylistic trick. There the mind of the narrator wavers between the end of the journey, the stage traversed with Ealhild, which resulted in reaching the home of Eormanric, and the place where the singer came from in the beginning. The clauses follow somewhat thus: He was a Myrging; he, with Ealhild, on his first journey, visited the home of the Gothic king; he came from the east, from Angleland; (he visited the home of) Eormanric, the wrathful treaty-breaker. Many instances of this ABAB sequence have been collected by Heinzel in the criticism of the application of the "ballad-theory" to *Beowulf*, and the whole matter has been quite sufficiently discussed already.¹ It should be added, perhaps, that the place at which *Widsith* is to be thought of as relating all this is not indicated in the poem.

In spite of these dissents and queries, it appears that Heinzel's suggestion has marked a distinct step in advance in the interpretation of the poem. It is necessary, however, to examine other readings of the situation somewhat more carefully. This examination of other theories is conveniently made in connection with the important question of what historical foundation, if any, exists for the passage just discussed.

III

According to the interpretation of the story proposed by Heinzel, there is evidently no historical foundation for the relations between Ealhild and Eormanric, and consequently none for the alleged escorting of the lady to the Goths by the hero of the poem. The sister of Alboin² could not have married

¹ Cf. Heinzel, *Quellen und Forsch.*, Vol. X, pp. 10 ff., and *Ans. für deut. Alt.*, Vol. X, pp. 220 ff.; Vol. XV, 157 ff., and *Jour. Germ. Philol.*, Vol. IV, 4, p. 457.

² Notice that Ealhild is mentioned in the poem as *dohtor Eadwines* (l. 98) while *Ælfwine* or Alboin is called *beorn Eadwines* (l. 74). It seems most likely that the two Eadwines are identical, and that Ealhild is to be thought of as a sister of Alboin. The identification has been accepted by Möllenhoff, Möller, ten Brink, and by critics of the poem generally. There is, of course, no historical testimony that Alboin ever had such a sister, or any sister, indeed. But we are probably dealing with pure fiction here; the main question is

a man a century and a half older than herself, any more than Widsith could have visited both Alboin and Eormanric on his travels. We are here dealing with epic fiction, not with reality. Such unions as this are common enough in saga. The sister of a great conqueror like the invader of Italy would have seemed a fitting bride for the renowned Gothic king to a people who did not trouble themselves about chronological discrepancies. In a similar way, Eormanric was moved down into a later period in the Middle High German conception of the Dietrich of Bern story.¹ Here he is transferred from the first three-quarters of the fourth century into the latter part of the fifth, and made to serve as uncle and opponent of Dietrich. Again, in the *Poetic Edda*, the bride of Eormanric, the bright-eyed Swanhild, whose connection with Ealhild is interesting and significant,² is said to be the daughter of a sister of Gunnar, whose historic prototype flourished long after Eormanric's death. There is an even more curious distortion in the *Volsungasaga*. The compiler of this saga in its present form apparently intended it as an introduction to what he considered the far more important events in the life of Ragnar Lothbrok, connecting the two parts by making Aslaug, the daughter of Sigurd and Brynhild, the second wife of the Viking king. The historical Ragnar was born in 750, yet it did not involve an artistic blemish to connect him as closely as this with early saga characters. Such anachronisms are of course

whether the author of the lines conceived Ealhild as the child of Audoin. Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders* (Vol. V, p. 177), says, "considering the commonness of that name (Eadwine), we have perhaps no right to conclude that we have here an unknown sister of Alboin married to an English prince." Hodgkin's seems almost the only dissenting voice.

¹ Cf. *Dietrich's Flucht*.

² Both Heinzel (*Hervararsaga*, p. 516) and Jiriczek (*loc. cit.*, pp. 73, 104) agree that Ealhild here replaces the Sunilda (northern Swanhild) in the Eormanric story. The name was probably in Gothic *Sōnihilds, in OHG. *Suonhilt, and the transition from a form of this sort ending in -hild to Ealhild seems easy. Such confusion was not uncommon, of course; compare the identification of a Hild or Hildiko of historic story with Grimhild, sister of the Nibelungen princes (Paul's *Grundriss*, Vol. III, 1898, p. 660). As Symons points out, this process may well have been assisted by the Germanic custom of letting one part of a compound name do duty for the whole, as Hild for Brynhild, Bera for Kostbera, etc., in the *Edda*. The Sunilda motive seems to have early faded out in German territory, though it seems necessary to postulate its existence to account for the presence of the Swanhild story in Scandinavian. There is no record in German saga sources of the death of Sunilda as a punishment for illicit love. Just what stage of the conception of the story is represented in *Widsith* it is difficult to say. The question is further complicated by the possibility that the references to the Eormanric saga in its various forms which the poem contains may very likely not all be from the same source.

common in the *chansons de geste*, which show little sense for historical perspective.¹ Charlemagne is credited in the *Song of Roland* with the act of William the Norman in collecting tribute for the pope from the island of Britain, and he goes on a pilgrimage to the tomb of Thomas à Becket in *Rauf Coilyear*. Many instances of similar inconsistency in the time-relations in early and mediæval literature might be cited, if such citations were necessary.

If this visit of Eormanric to Ealhild is a creation of saga-making imagination, the apparently personal account of the visit to the brother of Ealhild, and of the ring-giving at the Gothic court and in the hall of Eadgils does not appear in quite so convincing a light. The question naturally arises whether such a person as Widsith ever existed, and if so, whether any of his experiences are to be believed. An intelligent answer will be much more easy to give if the question be put aside for a moment, and the principal interpretations of the poem be passed in review. This will, furthermore, make clearer the details of Heinzel's theory. Most scholars who have believed in the authenticity of any part of Widsith's experiences have made the poet a contemporary of Alboin. Some of the earliest investigators, however, were inclined to refer him to the time of Eormanric. Although their ideas have received very cautious support in modern times, it is perhaps best to consider briefly in the first place the possibility that the kernel of the piece may go back to actual events of the fourth and fifth centuries.

The theory of Dr. Guest, which has already been referred to, need not detain us long. He conjectured that practically the entire narrative of the singer was composed in the fifth century by a man "soon after the age of eighty"—a fairly advanced age, but one necessary to make his life touch the reigns of Eormanric and Attila, and that, as Mr. Brooke notes, Ælfwine is not Alboin, but one of the chiefs in the train of Alaric, ca. 400 A. D.² The

¹ If Paris' theory of the lyric character of the *Cantilenæ* be accepted, and the historical element in the *chansons* be regarded as largely an aftergrowth due to a people who are beginning to forget the exact details of history, these discrepancies may be all the more readily understood. (Cf. *Romania*, Vol. XIII, pp. 616 ff., and Rajna, *Epopea francese*, pp. 469 ff.)

² Cf. Brooke, *loc. cit.*, p. 460. I do not find this statement in Guest's *Hist. of Eng. Rhythms*.

statement, already quoted, that the poet's reference to Alexander the Great is "the only instance in which he has referred to one not a contemporary" shows better than any criticism how antiquated Guest's view is today. Conybeare held a somewhat similar view in general to the one adopted by Guest. It is pleasant to record these early appreciations of the interest and significance of the poem, but unprofitable, from a critical point of view, to dwell upon them here. A modified form of this theory, which would treat a portion of the poem as genuine, and as the composition of a contemporary of Eormanric, has not been without supporters. Mr. Stopford Brooke, though expressing himself with due reserve, appears to regard this position with favor,¹ so also Professor Earle² and Dr. Garnett.³ The comments of Dr. Garnett, which have the importance of being perhaps the most recent of the criticisms of the *Widsith*, are unfortunately hardly detailed enough to carry much weight in a matter so complicated and confused as this. He wrote with due caution: "If Widsith is a real person, and the poem a genuine record of his bygone days, it must have been composed early in the fifth century." He admitted the evidences of lateness, but thinks "it is, perhaps, in favor of the genuineness of the poem that palpable interpolations should occur in several places." The mention of Alboin, king of the Lombards, he would regard as such a later insertion. Just what his position was in respect to the relations between Ealhild, Eadgils, and Eormanric is not clear. He observed in regard to ll. 88 ff., however: "It is difficult not to be impressed with the apparent sincerity of Widsith's praise of his patrons, and still more difficult to conjecture why a literary imposture should be perpetrated in honour of the deceased sovereigns of an extinct nation two centuries after their death;" so that his idea was clearly that they lived in the era of Eormanric.⁴ The question of how much

¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 459.

² *Anglo-Saxon Literature*, London, 1884, p. 148.

³ *Cf. n. 5*, p. 331.

⁴ This sounds a little like Guest's comment: "Of the different theories which may be started as to the origin of this singular poem, the one which seems to me beset with the fewest difficulties is that which maintains its genuineness. If we suppose it to be a forgery, where shall we discover a motive for the fraud? Where shall we find any analogous case in the history of that early period? Above all, where shall we find the learning and the knowledge necessary to perpetuate such a fraud successfully?" (*Loc. cit.*, p. 373.)

significance is to be attached to the personal coloring of this passage will be considered at length later. But even granting that this personal quality is the reflection of actual experience, the burden of proof upon the supporters of this hypothesis is a heavy one. The only other historical patron besides Eormanric to whom the singer refers with anything like a personal touch, who could have been known to a man who had attained his majority by the beginning of the third quarter of the fourth century, is Gunther, the historical Gundicarius, who fell in battle in 437. Ealhild cannot be the daughter of Audoin and the sister of Alboin, as she is almost universally regarded. Eadgils, if he has any historical position, must be moved back into the fourth or early fifth century. The citations of the various peoples of course prove nothing. Nor will the list of monarchs and chiefs in the "innweorud Eormanrices" (ll. 112 ff.) help the case for putting the kernel of the piece in the fifth century. Dr. Garnett seemed to think otherwise: "He speaks . . . distinctly of his comradeship with the Goths when they were contending against the bands of Ætla (Attila)." The probability that this is a purely fictitious list of rulers seems as great as that there is no sober record of fact in the list of peoples in ll. 82 ff. Müllenhoff has compared the mechanical use of *sōhte ic* with the equally mechanical use of *ic wæs* in the passages preceding which fall under the suspicion of being spurious. The "innweorud Eormanrices" is a jumble of names, a few of which belong to history, but of widely different periods, as Theodric (l. 115), not the Frankish monarch, but the Gothic king (died, 526), the Hunnish Attila (died, 543), and the Lombard Ægelmund, who reigned in the early days when the Lombard people were still in their seats in the north of Europe. Others belong to saga, like Becca; the Bikki who betrayed Randver and Swanhild in the Eormanric story; Sifeca and Heathoric, who are the traditional Sifke and Heidrek, and the equally imaginary pair Hlithe and Incgentheow, whom Grundtvig explained as Hlōdh and Angantyr. The mythical Harlung brothers appear as the Herelingas, Emerca and Fridla. Others are utterly unknown, or at best darkly conjectured—Wulfhere and Wyrnhere, Rædhere and Rondhere, whose names

have a suspiciously "decorative" look, Rumstan and Secca and Becca and Withergield and Aliso and Hungar.¹ Is it safe to read any serious personal experience into all this? Let it be granted that it preserves an early form of the Gothic saga—the chieftain Wudga, the later German Wittich in the Dietrich of Bern story, here appears in his proper setting if we allow him an historical counterpart in the old Gothic hero Widigoia or Widigauja. As to his friend and companion Heime or Hama, there are no conjectures to help out a decision as to his identity, save that he is the constant companion of Wudga, and so probably of like nationality. It is clear that after fiction and probable interpolation have been cut out of this passage there is little to base historic truth upon. The description of the contests between the Goths and the Huns shows discrepancies. The very mention of a series of battles instead of one great contest may indicate epic error, and the strife of the followers of Eormanric with the Huns of Attila about the Vistula is puzzling.² Dr. Garnett suggested: "It . . . seems not unlikely that Widsith's lays on the conflicts between the Goths and the Huns really related to those which took place under Hermanric's immediate successors, but that the passage has been altered by a later poet, for whom Attila was the representative of the obliterated Hunnish nation, now passing into the domain of legend."³ Is it not more probable that this change took place in the oral tradition upon which such an account as this must rest, and that the passage in its present form was composed by a man who really had a wrong conception of the facts? But the possibilities of theorizing on the basis of the introduction of new names in the place of old ones are so varied that it is hardly profitable to carry this train of thought further. It seems evident, however, that if matters are as confused as this, no sound conclusions as to the life of the singer can be drawn from the Eormanric catalogue. If the Eadwine (l. 117) is Audoin,

¹ Cf., for discussions of these names, Kögel, *Gesch. der deutschen Litt.*, Vol. I, pp. 146 ff.; Binz, *Beiträge*, Vol. XX, p. 207; Bugge, *Beiträge*, Vol. XII, pp. 69 ff.; Jiriczek, *loc. cit.*

² Cf. Heinzel, *Hervararsaga*, p. 517.

³ Jagie, *Arch. für slavische Philol.*, Vol. XI (2), pp. 305 ff., makes a similar suggestion, which Garnett may have had in mind, as his reference to modern Slavonic scholars suggests. Jagie remarks: "Attila, der legendhafte Eponym des Hunnenvolkes, möchte einen älteren Namen leicht verdrängt haben; die umgekehrte Änderung ist kaum wahrscheinlich."

the father of Alboin, it would seem that its present date, at least, must be pretty late.

The amount of actual testimony to the composition of any part of the poem by a man who had actually "seen Eormanric," then, is very small. It cannot be regarded as otherwise than highly dangerous, on the basis of such slender evidence, and the preservation of so small a part of the original poem, to refer its nucleus to so remote a period as the late fourth or early fifth century, a time when, as Professor Saintsbury has pointed out in this connection, no modern European language has left any traces of its existence.

The hypothesis that the poem reflects actual historic events of the fifth century, and that Widsith, if he were a real person, lived in that age, has been far more generally credited. The great learning and authority of Müllenhoff made his remarks on the historical events and the ethnology of the piece of very great weight. His arguments were accepted, in general, by Walker,¹ after a careful summary of the evidence up to 1885. They are especially worth notice as having formed the basis for the more elaborate studies of Möller and ten Brink.

Müllenhoff cut out as spurious ll. 75-87, and remarked that l. 88 would make a good continuation for l. 74: "V. 88 schliesst sich auch vortrefflich an v. 74 an. V. 88 bezieht sich offenbar auf v. 70, und die ganze folgende Schilderung von des Sangers Verhältniss zu seinem Herrn und zur Ealhild, der Tochter Eadvine's tritt erst ins rechte Licht, wenn unmittelbar das Lob Ælfvine's, des Sohnes Eadvine's, vorausgeht, und umgekehrt auch dieses, wenn jene unmittelbar folgt."² It is not difficult to agree with Müllenhoff that the passage has all the earmarks of spuriousness, but that there was originally no gap between ll. 74 and 88 seems an unwarrantable assumption. The two hardly make a faultless connection. What does *ealle präge* mean? One of the commonest errors of the *Liedertheoretiker* was supposing that because an interpolated passage had been removed, and the beginning and end of the gap made good sense, no loss had taken place. It would be easy enough, as has been often pointed out in this con-

¹ *Grundriiss*, p. 329.

² P. 291.

nection, to cut out long passages in modern poems, so that no one unfamiliar with their original condition would guess that anything had been taken away. It seems quite likely here that the passion for mere information, for making this an "instructive" poem, may have led to the sacrifice of matter that would have explained the vague indication in the prologue that Widsith had accompanied Ealhild to the home of Eormanric. But this is a mere conjecture. The main point is to examine Müllenhoff's interpretation of the part which has been preserved.

His argument is closely connected with his investigation into the identification and position of the different peoples. It really arises from the discussion of the location of the Myrgings.¹ They are treated in ll. 41-44 as the same folk as the Suevi or Swæfs; one of the exploits of Offa, the Anglian king, is that

āne sweorde
merce gemærde wið Myrgingum
bi Fifeldore: hēoldon forð siþran
Engle and Swāfe, swā hit Offa geslög.

They are mentioned separately after the Swæfs in l. 22, but this does not necessarily mean that they cannot have been a division of the same people. As for the Swæfs themselves, Müllenhoff notes that their position according to the poem is "noch ganz in der stellung wie die Suebi in den ersten jhh. an der Elbe und Oder." But he thinks that the Myrgings were not a folk of this region. "Dass die Myrginge hier kein theil der Svæfen, etwa alte Holsteiner sind, beweist ihre verbindung mit der Langobarden an der Donau und in Pannonien." The Lombards in the time of Alboin were occupying lands in modern Austria, south of the Danube, and west of its southern course from Buda-Pesth downward, having crossed about 547 from the region lying east of the river. They were thus in an advantageous position to make their descent upon Italy in 568. Müllenhoff is convinced that the Myrgings were not up in Holstein, or thereabouts, as all the indications in the poem lead one to infer, but that they extended into much more southerly territory, not at a great distance from the Lombards in Pannonia. This view is all the more surprising, as the

¹ Haupt's *Zeitschrift*, Vol. XI, pp. 278 ff.

location of "Tifeldor" in the passage just quoted is believed to be the river Eider, in the lower part of the Danish peninsula.¹ Peoples in these early days were subject to migration, however, and a very convincing reason might lead to placing the Myrgings farther south than would otherwise be believed.

Müllenhoff argues that they were neighbors of the Lombards because Ealhild, the daughter of the Lombard Eadwine (Audoin) married the Myrving prince Eadgils. But it has been shown that there is no statement in the poem to that effect, and, furthermore, that there are grave objections to that interpretation. Müllenhoff thinks this marriage could not have taken place if the Myrgings had been restricted to Holstein: "Es kann aber der Langobardenkönig in Pannonien keine interesse gehabt haben seine tochter nach Holstein zu verheiraten. Der Myrgingenname muss eine viel grössere ausdehnung gehabt haben." Various reasons, he says, tend to confirm the conclusion that they may have been neighbors.² The Saxons and Swabians are known to have followed Alboin into Italy, and they came from a district, "das von der Elbe durchströmte und östlich anliegende land von der Donau bis zur Ostsee," where the people were known as Maurungani, as the map of the Geographer of Ravenna indicates. Moreover, according to Müllenhoff, the Lombard saga of Paul the Deacon puts Mauringaland "eben dahin." Finally, the name seems to be preserved in relatively modern place-names; cf. the minnesinger Heinrich von Morungen, the *curtis Moranga in pago Morangano* in the *Vita Meinweri*, etc. Hence, he thinks, one cannot doubt the linguistic identity of "Maurungi, Mauringi, Myrgingas," and the chain is complete.

¹ Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Mythologie*, ed. Meyer, Berlin, 1875, Vol. I, p. 198; Bosworth-Toller, *A. S. Lexicon*, etc.

² In showing Eadwine, the father of Ealhild and Ælfwine, to have been the Lombard king Audoin, he points out the fact that the name occurs in l. 117 in connection with other Lombard heroes—Ægelmund, Hlith (if Ettmüller's conjecture be correct). Cf. n. 1, p. 344. The mention of the Wid-Myrgings in the following line seemed to him additional testimony to the close connection which he wished to establish between the peoples. But it is evident from the preceding lists that no sound conclusions can be drawn from grouping, otherwise one would have to see relations between the Greeks and the Finns in l. 20. Müllenhoff himself says: "Eine strenge ordnung, wie im guten mhd. epos bei dergleichen aufzählungen, weiss ich freilich nicht nachzuweisen" (p. 276). In the days of Ægelmund, the Lombards were near what we may believe to have been the seats of the Myrgings, a consideration which may perhaps have a little weight in the matter. The map in Hodgkin's *Lombard Invasion*, p. 80, will be found useful.

If this argument be followed carefully, it will be seen to approach perilously close to a *circulus vitiosus*. Müllenhoff says in effect: The Myrgings must have been near the Lombards because these two peoples are connected in marriage. But this marriage could not have taken place unless they had been neighbors. Various reasons seem to show that a people with a name similar to that of the Myrgings were neighbors of the Lombards, hence they were no doubt identical with the Myrgings, and there is nothing to interfere with the connection by marriage. — The important thing to remember, in criticising Müllenhoff, is that the marriage of Eadgils and Ealhild must be as hypothetical as anything else. At all events, whatever one may say about these logical processes, it is clear that the key to the whole question is the validity of the reasons brought forward to prove the Myrgings near the Lombards, all of which reasons depend upon proving the equation Myrgingas=Maurungani.

The linguistic identity of the two names was evidently not so close as Müllenhoff could have wished. Although it was accepted by Möller, Thorpe, and others, it appears quite impossible on philological grounds. Here again, in his article, *Über die Ostgothische Heldensage*, Heinzel makes a valuable point. "Der Name Myrgingas, welchen das ags. Widsidhlied und nur dieses, auch für ein Land östlich der Elbe braucht, ist lautlich mit Maurungani, Mauringa nicht in Einklang zu bringen, das erste *g* macht unüberwindliche Schwierigkeiten."¹ If this be the case, it is evidently useless, as must appear to every unprejudiced critic, to criticise Müllenhoff's hypothesis further. It is worth noting, however, that neither the testimony of the Geographer of Ravenna nor the Lombard saga of Paul the Deacon gives testimony to the southerly position of the Maurungani as conclusive as one would infer from Müllenhoff's statement. The Geographer of Ravenna, who is believed to have written in the seventh century, is by no means so clear as he might be. It is significant that he has given Hodgkin, an investigator of remarkable impartiality, and one of the best authorities upon this period, a very different impression. Hodgkin says: "Maurunga is also, on the authority of the Geographer of

¹ He refers to *Beiträge*, Vol. VIII, p. 256, and Brugmann's *Grundriss*, Vol. I, p. 332.

Ravenna, connected with the country near the mouth of the Elbe, probably on its right bank"¹—a very different thing from Müllenhoff's "grössere ausdehnung" toward the Danube. I feel incompetent to give an independent judgment as to the precise meaning of the Geographer's rather misty words. The place-names in late German records cannot be regarded as important independent testimony to the position of a people in the sixth century. Again, the Lombard saga of Paulus Diaconus, as interpreted by Zeuss, the authority on early history whom Müllenhoff frequently quotes, as well as by more modern scholars, places Maurunga very near, if not in, Holstein, and gives no authority for extending it into southern Germany.

According to Paul the Deacon, the Lombards came originally from Scandinavia, and after leaving this country their first home was Scoringa, the left bank of the Elbe near the mouth. Strabo (A. D. 70), Tacitus (ca. 61-117), and Ptolemy (ca. 100-61) agree that the Langobardi dwelt near the mouth of the Elbe. They then moved into Mauringa, the land where Müllenhoff would have us believe the Myrgings lived. Paul continues: "The Langobardi were sore pressed with famine, and moved forth from the province of Scoringa, intending to go into Mauringa. But when they reached the frontier, the Assipitti were drawn up determined to dispute the passage Thus, then, did the Langobardi succeed in reaching Mauringa From Mauringa the Langobardi moved forward into Golanda, and there they possessed the regions of Anthaib and Bainaib and Burgundaib."² It should be remembered that all this is some centuries before the time of Alboin, and that the history of those early days is so enwrapped in legend and fable as to be very difficult to treat accurately. The location of Mauringa is given by the chief authorities as follows:

Zeuss.³ Flat country east of Elbe. Golanda was Rugulanda, coast opposite island of Rügen in the Baltic.

Bluhme.⁴ The Assipitti were located near Wolfenbüttel, and Mauringa north of the Assipitti.

¹ *Italy and Her Invaders*, Vol. V, p. 100.

² I use Hodgkin's translation, *loc. cit.*, p. 94.

³ *Die Germanen und die Nachbarstämme*.

⁴ *Die Gens Langob. und ihre Herkunft*, Bonn, 1868.

Schmidt.¹ Mauraing was the country between the Elbe and Oder, or perhaps was Holstein. Golanda was Gotland.

Hodgkin's own view has already been given.

It appears, then, that the widely quoted interpretation of Müllenhoff breaks down upon careful scrutiny. The errors in this argument affect directly only that part of the poem under discussion, although indirectly the view adopted of the growth of the poem as a whole is deeply influenced by the construction of this important Eadgils-Ealhild-Eormanric passage. It should be said that Müllenhoff rendered a great service by giving the long lists of peoples and kings a careful review, and placing many of them in their true places in history and saga.

IV

Any analysis of the work of Möller and ten Brink must depend to a very great extent upon the view taken of their general critical method, a method which, as has already been noted, cannot be adequately treated within the limits of this paper. It is interesting, however, to note their conceptions of the professedly autobiographical and historical elements in the piece, although these are very much affected by their reconstructions of the hypothetical original forms of the component lays. It will be observed that there is considerable divergence in their views upon various matters.

The clearest idea of Möller's division of *Widsith* into its elements may be gained by consulting his reprint of the poem in the second part of his study. Here the story of Eadwine, Eadgils, and Ealhild appears, comfortably cleared of the troublesome reference to Eormanric, and set forth "in der ursprünglichen strophischen Form." The high-handed proceedings of the later adherents of the ballad theory is well seen in the work of Möller and ten Brink. While Müllenhoff, who was on the whole cautious in his cutting, regarded the reference to the Gothic king as "epic fiction," these scholars removed it from its place altogether. Möller sees no reason why the episode as he restores it may not have had a basis in actual fact. "Eine ringschenkung Albuins an

¹ *Zur Gesch. der Langobarden*, Leipzig, 1885. For details of these views in small space cf. Hodgkin, p. 141, n. A, "On the early homes of the Langobardi."

den sänger des liedes braucht nicht fiktion gewesen zu sein, wie eine solche des Ermanarich, sondern kann in wirklichkeit stattgefunden haben."¹ He argues that it was this ring given by Alboin that Widsith gave to Eadgils, the name of Eormanric having been inserted later. He seems to agree in general with Mullenhoff's conception of the passage, quoting him with approval, and referring to Alboin as a king connected in friendship and marriage with Eadgils, which appears to him an additional reason why the ring given at the Lombard court should have been the one presented to the Myrging prince. He seems to have misunderstood the meaning of the phrase *ēastan of Ongle*, as the earlier scholars did generally.

If due allowance be made for Möller's general theory, his view of the significance of the name "Widsith" seems eminently sane. He regards it as a proper name, as do the majority of the critics. "Der name *Widsið*, mit dem das ganze beginnt, steht nur an dieser stelle: es war offenbar der name mit dem das volk den sänger dieser lieder bezeichnete. Man hatte lieder in denen ein sänger der in der ersten person spricht von weiten reisen erzählt: sein wirklicher name kam in den liedern nicht vor, man nannte ihn darum nach dem was man von ihm wusste *Widsið*, und diese benennung galt alsbald als wirklicher name."² Whether the singer of the lay or lays which form the groundwork of the piece was a real or a fictitious personage evidently does not affect the bestowal of such a cognomen as "the Wide Wanderer" upon him.

The results reached by ten Brink are even more definite than Möller's. The reconstruction of *Widsith*, like that of *Beowulf*, becomes in his hands a kind of apotheosis of higher criticism. The "Ealhild lay," which, as he rebuilds it, consists of ll. 50-58 (read *Hwæt* instead of *Swā*, l. 50); 64-67; 70-74; 90-108 (read *Hē* instead of *Sē*, l. 90); 135-43, "bildet ein vollkommen befriedigendes Ganzes, an dem wir nichts vermissen, und dem wir etwas hinzuzusetzen kein Bedürfniss empfinden." Möller assumed more gaps and imperfections than ten Brink, although it must be said that the failure of the lines to conform to the strophic theory is responsible for a good many of these.

¹ P. 3.² P. 31.

As for the autobiographical element, ten Brink admitted little of it, so far as the singer is concerned. He thought him "kein wirklicher, sondern ein idealer Sanger, der hier zu uns redet: gleichsam der typische Vertreter des fahrenden Sängertums der epischen Zeit." The marriage of Ealhild and Eadgils he regarded as historical fact; the basis of the lay perhaps being an older poem belonging to the general class which details the experiences of minstrels. His views are best given in his own words.

Vielleicht hat man sich die Sache folgendermassen vorzustellen. Es wird frühzeitig Lieder gegeben haben, in denen Sanger ihre Erlebnisse erzählten—in diese allgemeine Gruppe gehört auch *Deors Klage*—und im besonderen solche, in denen sie über ihre Reisen und den Empfang an verschiedenen Fürstenhöfen berichteten. An letzteren werden im Laufe der Zeit, wie manches Andere in Form und Inhalt, auch die Namen geändert werden, jüngere Namen zu älteren getreten sein. So dürfen wir uns eine ältere Gestalt unseres Liedes denken, deren schematische Grundlage der vorliegenden ziemlich entsprach; ich denke namentlich auch an das Motiv des von einem ausländischen Fürsten erhaltenen kostbaren Rings, den ein Sanger seinem eigenen Fürsten schenkt und was sich weiter daran schliesst. Jener ausländische Fürst könnte der Burgunderkönig Gunther gewesen sein (zu dem Albuin im vorliegenden Text sich wie eine gesteigerte Wiederholung ausnimmt). Nehmen wir nun an, dass, wie unser Lied berichtet, eine langobardische Prinzessin (Ealhild) Tochter des Auduin, wirklich als Gemahlin des Königs Eadgils bei den Myrgingen—eben im mittleren und östlichen Holstein—geherrscht und sich wie ihr Bruder Albuin, von dem uns solches auch sonst bezeugt ist (Paul. Diac., I, 27) durch ihre Freigebigkeit berühmt gemacht habe, so wird die Kunde von ihrer Milde auch zu den Angeln gedrunken sein; und von den wenigen anglischen Sängern, die damals noch nördlich von der Eider heimisch waren, werden Einzelne zweifellos diese Milde an sich selber erfahren haben. Da bedurfte es nur noch der Nachricht von Albuins Zug nach Italien und der Gründung des langobardischen Reichs daselbst um einem englischen Sanger den ganzen für die Umgestaltung des alten Liedes nötigen Stoff zu liefern. Am einfachsten war die Sache dann, wenn—wie sehr wohl denkbar—jenes alte Lied selbst aus dem Land der Myrginge stammte. Ob die vorliegende Gestalt des Ealhildlieds—es wird hierbei nur an die wesentlichen Momente, nicht an alle Einzelheiten der Darstellung gedacht—noch in Angeln oder erst in Mercien zum ersten Male gesungen wurde, lässt sich nicht entscheiden. Zweierlei aber ist höchst wahrscheinlich: einmal dass sei es unser Lied sei es der Stoff dazu im Gefolge des—etwa um 575 stattfindenden—letzten Angelnzugs, und so wohl im Gefolge des altanglischen Königsgeschlechts

(Müllenhoff, D. A., II, 98 ff.) nach Britannien verpflanzt wurde; zweitens dass die Verschmelzung jener Elemente jedenfalls noch vor dem Ende des sechsten Jahrhunderts stattfand.¹

If Ealhild is to be regarded as the wife of Eadgils, and the general method of reconstruction is admissible, the above hypothesis appears plausible. But there is so little direct evidence in the poem to support the details of so complicated a theory, that it must be regarded rather as an ingenious surmise as to what may or might have taken place than as a well-grounded outline of actual growth. Probably ten Brink would have admitted this himself. The difficulty is not that the theory is too complicated, or that the analysis takes account of too many details, but the chances are small that so elaborate a conjecture—admittedly not supported by facts—corresponds with even approximate accuracy to the facts of the case.

V

The foregoing review of the principal interpretations of the more personal passages in the poem does not encourage the belief that they reflect actual historical conditions as observed by a contemporary. The hypothesis that Widsith was a singer of the days of Alboin is almost as unconvincing as the one which makes him out a man of the time of Eormanric. Too much of the text must be credited either to interpolation or to "epic fiction." Both are justifiable processes to which to appeal to sustain an argument in regard to a poem of the age of the one under discussion, but it will not do to push either beyond reasonable limits. The amount of later matter is out of all proportion to the original nucleus, if the theory that the latter was composed in the fifth century or earlier be adopted—a theory so unlikely for other reasons that it will hardly find many advocates among careful students. On the other hand, Müllenhoff's suggestion that the reference to Eormanric was introduced as a kind of rhetorical flourish into an account of bona fide experience is not so convincing as it might be. Making all due allowances for the haziness of historical fact in the popular mind, it is not very probable that a man should be soliciting belief for the statement that the ring with which he bought

¹ Paul's *Grundriss*, Vol. II, pp. 543 ff.

back his father's land came from a monarch whom his hearers must have known to be a misty figure of saga. Eormanric had been dead about two hundred years at the time when Widsith may be supposed to have visited Alboin. Dr. Garnett remarked: ". . . it is manifest that while seeming indications of a later date may easily find their way into an old poem, tokens of antiquity are not so likely to be interpolated into a recent one with deliberate purpose of deceit." If the historical allusions are shown to be untrustworthy, there is little evidence upon which to base an actual personality for the singer. There is, indeed, no way of proving that a North-German chief, Eadgils, may not have had a traveled singer attached to his court, whose figure was made to serve as the starting-point around which to weave this story. But where so much fiction has to be accounted for, it is hard to feel certain that even a small residue of fact may remain.

Entirely aside from the interpretation of the tale of Eadgils and Ealhild, it seems antecedently more probable, in view of the characteristics of early poetry, to regard the whole of *Widsith* as fictitious. The simplicity, the straightforwardness, the personal ring of portions of the story have seemed to many critics convincing indications of its veracity. After the long dry enumerations which precede, it makes an impression of even greater sincerity. But this show of truthfulness must not deceive us. Early narrators were anxious to be implicitly believed. A tale gained in the telling if it had the added charm of being a "true story." Beowulf exclaiming *sōð ic talige*—"this is truth I tell you!" in his description of the swimming-match with Breca, or the author of the *Romance of Partenay*, beginning with the assurance: "Hit is so in truth in time auncion," use the same literary device, which was common among minstrels down to the close of the Middle Ages. Chaucer has his humorous fling at it:

This storie is al-so trewe, I undertake,
As is the book of Launcelot de Lake.

Nothing gives veracity like detail, a discovery remade in the eighteenth century by Defoe, but no secret to the bard of early times. When we read of the hundred *sceats* marked on the ring which Eormanric gave Widsith, or consider the naive way in

which the business transaction with Eadgils is arranged by means of this same present, we cannot but be struck, as was Mr. Stopford Brooke, with the apparent plausibility of "the little tale, so simple, so direct, so full of the detail of memory." It is of course common, however, to find this realism and this detail in early poetry which is undoubtedly fictitious. The presents bestowed upon Beowulf by Hrothgar are even more carefully described than Widsith's ring—the eight horses with bridles covered with plates of gold, and the helmet curiously protected with wires. It was no part of the story-teller's business to be vague; his hearers wanted to know things precisely. The apparently exact six hundred *sceats* on the arm-band given to Widsith fall into the same class as the seven hundred rings which Weland forged, the eight salmon and three tuns of mead which Thor consumed in the hall of Thrym, or the seven hundred camels and the thousand falcons and four hundred laden mules sent by Marsilies to Charlemagne. The desire to give vividness by introducing realistic touches is noticeable in the narrative poetry of the Christian period in early Britain. The poetic elaboration in *Andreas*, in which "the passages of description and dialogue . . . are sometimes given a strikingly realistic, even extravagantly realistic coloring"¹ illustrates this.

Furthermore, narrative in the first person, which lends a specious air of directness and candor, was a favorite device in early literature in England and on the Continent. Misconceptions in regard to the personal element contained in such pieces have been common. The *Pearl* was long regarded as an elegiac outburst upon the death of a beloved child, and not as an allegorical poem.² It is not now generally believed that such pieces as *The Lover's Message* and *The Wife's Lament* are in any sense the records of personal experience. The latter has been connected, indeed, with the Offa saga.³ Or consider the elaborately circumstantial fiction woven about the name of Sir John Mandeville, which has deceived so many as to the real facts in

¹ *Andreas*, ed. Krapp, Albion series, p. lv.

² Cf. C. F. Brown, "The Author of the Pearl," *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America*, Vol. XIX, pp. 1 ff., and W. H. Schofield, *ibid.*, pp. 154 ff.

³ Miss Edith Rickert, *Mod. Philol.*, Vol. II, pp. 370 ff.

regard to that highly entertaining figure. How convincingly does "the good knight" tell us of his history and intentions!

And for als moche as it is long tyme passed, that ther was no generale passage ne vyage over the see, and many men desiren for to here speke of the holy lond, and han thereof gret solace and comfort; I, John Maundeville, knyght, alle be it I be not worthi, that was born in Englund, in the town of Seynt Albones, passed the see, in the yeer of our Lord Jesu Crist MCCCXXII., in the day of Seynt Michelle; and hidreto have ben longe tyme over the see, and have seyn and gon thorghe manye dyverse londes, and many provnyces and kingdomes and iles, and have passed thorghe Tartarye, Percy, Ermonye the litylle and the grete, thorghe Lybye, Caldee and a grete partie of Ethiope, thorghe Amazoyne, Inde the lasse and the more, a gret partie, and thorgheout many othere iles, that ben abouten Inde; where dwellen many dyverse folkes, and of dyverse maneres and lawes, and of dyverse schappes of men.

Does not this seem "simple, direct, and full of the detail of memory"?

The general tendency nowadays is to be sceptical about the autobiographical element in works which apparently reveal the inmost feelings of the writer. Shakspere is not thought to have "unlocked his heart" for us in his sonnets so much as to have illustrated the extent of the influence of French sonneteering conceits; we know better than to take the apparently personal allusions in Chaucer too seriously; and we are able to guard against confusing the poet who wrote *The Vision of Piers Plowman* with his imaginary dreamer.¹ Why should we attempt to read sober truth into *Widsith*, to find actual experience in a poem, which can, under any hypothesis, contain only about one-fifth fact to four-fifths fiction, on the most liberal estimate possible? There seems to be, on the whole, no reason for thinking that it may not be quite as much a work of the imagination as Mandeville's *Travels*, besides showing other interesting analogies with that work.

These considerations are perhaps a sufficient answer to such queries as those made by Guest, who thought, strangely enough, that "the theory which maintains the genuineness of the poem is beset with fewest difficulties" (a remark quoted respectfully by

¹ Cf. A. E. Jack, "Autobiographical Elements in *Piers Plowman*," *Jour. Germ. Philol.*, 1901, Vol. III, no. 4, and Professor Manly's article in *Modern Philology*, Vol. III, p. 259.

Mr. Brooke), and who inquired eagerly where one could find the motive for such a "fraud" as the poem must be if fictitious, or the learning to perpetuate it successfully. If *Widsith* is a "fraud," then realistic fiction generally must be branded with that disagreeable name; as for the learning, an acquaintance with the familiar heroes of saga such as most men possessed in the sixth and seventh centuries, the name of a traveled minstrel, and a little imagination were enough for a nucleus; the great show of learning, the long catalogues of peoples and rulers, we may believe to have come from another source or sources, having been added to suit the taste of a circle among whom knowledge was more prized than amusement. It was a common device of Scandinavian poets to set information, mythological and otherwise, in a narrative framework, as in the *Grimnismál* or the *Vafþrúðnismál*. The *Gylfaginning* exemplifies the same process in prose. Something the same condition appears to exist in *Widsith*, the singer's story serving as a useful peg upon which to hang the lists of names which some scribe was anxious to preserve, although the details of the process of combination are no doubt quite unlike those in Old Norse.

It may be well, in closing, to summarize briefly the results of the above review. Some interesting problems have been left untouched, particularly those dealing with ethnology and saga, but as more attention has been given to questions of this sort in recent years than to those of composition and structure, there seems to be less reason for discussing them here.

The poem appears to have been originally an imaginary account of the travels of a professional singer, represented as having visited prominent heroes of Germanic history and saga. The present version seems to have grown up, not by the dovetailing or interweaving of separate and dissimilar compositions, an "Ealhild lay," an "Eormanric catalogue," etc., as ten Brink and Möller supposed, but by additions made to an early lay of the same general character which the poem exhibits today, save that it was probably less occupied with mere enumerations. How much of this original lay has been preserved cannot be precisely determined; it seems probable, however, that it included at least the

visits to Alboin, Gunther, and Eormanric, and the band of warriors imagined as acknowledging allegiance to the Gothic king.¹ The passage describing the "innweorud Eormanrices" is evidently early at bottom, as the lines locating the Goths on the Vistula in contests against "the people of Attila" indicate. An imaginary incident of especial interest in connection with Eormanric is the part taken by the minstrel in accompanying Ealhild, presumably the sister of Alboin, on her bridal journey to the Gothic court. While its main object was apparently to recount the various worthies visited, this lay was apparently far from being mere bald cataloguing, but possessed considerable literary merit. Such enumerations as it contained, however, may well have given the hint for continuing the process farther and in a more mechanical way. It was probably composed upon the Continent,² although any conclusive evidence of this is lacking, and not later than the latter half of the sixth century, as the reference to Alboin indicates. If the Alboin passage be regarded as interpolated, it is possible to place the date earlier, but such interpolation is not probable, and other reasons for assuming composition earlier than this are not convincing. The poem cannot have been a record of personal experience, and there is no reason for believing that such a person as "Widsith" ever existed.

This lay was provided with a prologue in England, as the

¹ How far ll. 10-87 may be taken from various sources it is difficult and dangerous to conjecture. It has been seen that ll. 14-34 and ll. 75-87, although so unlike each other, show strong evidence of having been inserted. L. 76 appears to be a feeble imitation of l. 20. Apart from the metrical discrepancy, ll. 57 ff. are suspicious; contrast the mention of the Huns and Goths with what follows (cf. n. 1, p. 338); ll. 35-49 do not agree with the character of the later part of the poem, while ll. 10-13 and especially ll. 50-56 do. But any attempt to assign these portions to definite sources must prove unavailing. Such lines as 10-13 for example, may be among the earliest in the poem—or they may be among the latest.

Early lays of such a sort as the one here postulated as the basis of the present poem are not unknown in early literature. Heinzel, in his recension of Möller (*Anz. f. d. Alt.*, Vol. X, p. 232), remarks that there are parallels to the divisions II and III of Möller's analysis in Old Norse and in Anglo-Saxon, and gives references.

² Wülker, after reviewing the evidence, says (*Grundriss*, p. 329): "Der Ältere Teil des Gedichtes weist sehr entschieden auf die Zeit, wo die Angelsachsen noch auf dem Festlande sassen." There seems to be no reason to dissent from this. The acquaintance with saga, especially with the Eormanric saga, which was little known in Britain, apparently, and the intimacy of this acquaintance (cf. ten Brink, Paul's *Grundriss*, Vol. II, p. 341) point to a continental composition. The "merkwürdige Ansicht" of Maurer (*Zs. f. d. Philol.*, Vol. II, p. 447), who places the composition of the poem after the time of Charlemagne, hardly seems to require refutation. As Wülker suggests, Maurer evidently came to the criticism of the poem "ohne gehörige Beachtung der darüber erschienenen Litteratur."

phrase *ēastan of Ongle* indicates. The epilogue (ll. 135-43) may well have been added at the same time.¹ It was further altered by the insertion of material intended to perpetuate information, some of which (ll. 18-34 ?) may have existed previously, and may be as old as the narrative portion, or perhaps even older; other passages, particularly *ca.* ll. 79-87, bear evidences of lateness, as references to the Picts and Scots and to biblical peoples indicate. Christian coloring appears also in ll. 131-34. Portions of the original lay were doubtless sacrificed in the process of alteration. It seems likely that the prologue may have been added before the main portion received its present form, as it shows an acquaintance with a part of the *Ealhild-Eormanric* narrative which has apparently been lost, and an interest in mentioning this which would hardly be expected from the man who is responsible for the addition of the cataloguing. The chronological order in which the prologue, epilogue, and other portions were added cannot, however, be definitely ascertained.

The great discrepancy in the matter and manner of various passages in the narrative precludes the hypothesis that the whole is a unit, the work of one man. It is impossible, then, to set any one "date of composition" for *Widsith*, since a poem which has taken shape in such a fashion as this must be called rather a growth, an evolution, and must be judged by critical standards of a different sort than those which apply to more homogeneous compositions. It seems most probable that but a small portion of it antedates the end of the sixth century, while the present form of the piece, considering all the changes, and the presence of Christian influences in it, is not likely to be older than the latter half of the seventh century, and may be much later. While the

¹ Müllenhoff, Möller, and ten Brink all separated ll. 131-34 from the following, assigning them to a different source. Möller remarks: "Das eine der beiden stücke ist ohne zweifel auf grund des andern gemacht, denn wie Müllenhoff s. 293 zeigt es wiederholen sich dieselben ausdrücke und gedanken," etc. (p. 35). Repetition of the same thought in slightly changed words is really exceedingly common in AS. poetry, cf. the references in n. 1, p. 353. As for the fact that both divisions begin with *æoa*, cf. the instances of similar beginnings of sentences in *Kistenmacher, Die wörtlichen Wiederholungen in Beowulf*, Diss., Greifswald, 1896. The fact that one division reflects Christian conceptions and that the other does not proves nothing conclusively in regard to their origin. An interesting example of the danger of dogmatizing about such a passage as this is afforded by the epitaph in *Timon of Athens* (v, 4, 70 ff.). The two couplets of which this is composed are inconsistent with each other, yet Shakspeare evidently allowed both couplets to stand.

general drift of the history of the poem may still be observed, after careful study, attempts to trace this in minute detail must prove fruitless. The exact limits and boundaries of the various insertions cannot be definitely fixed, nor can anything like a reconstruction of the earliest form of the piece be successfully accomplished, if for no other reason than that so much has been lost. Precise results give an air of scientific exactness, but in the analysis of *Widsith* are to be distrusted. When one remembers the inevitable changes in oral transmission, the complexity of which the English and Scottish ballads well illustrate, and the arbitrary behavior of scribes, one hesitates to make any dogmatic statements at all about the original form of such a text as this. For in the earliest stages of the development it is by no means impossible that oral transmission must be reckoned with; in the latest ones it seems plain that someone has been at work with pen in hand. *Widsith* is probably far more changed than has hitherto been supposed. If the singer of the original lay were to "unlock his word-hoard" for us today as he did for his hearers in the beginning, we should hardly recognize his song at all in the mutilated, distorted, and debased version which we read some thirteen centuries later.

WILLIAM WITHERLE LAWRENCE

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

EIN BRIEF GOETHES

Hiermit sende ich die ersten Scenen¹ meines Stücks bey dessen Ausführung ich mich nur um Ein Jahr Arbeit verrechnet habe. Was es geworden ist mag das Publicum entscheiden.

Nun empfehle ich die allerstrengste Fürsorge bey den Correcturen. Die vorigen Bände sind leidlich, doch nicht ohne Mängel, bey diesem Stücke werde ich auch den geringsten Fehler durch einen Carton zu verbessern bitten. Bey der höchsten Sorgfalt die ich auf dieses Stück gewendet, wünsche ich auch dass es ganz rein in die Hände des Publicums komme. Wann Sie das Exempl. mit lateinischen Lettern anfangen wollen, ist mir ganz gleich.

Was H. Vulpius betrifft, wiederhole ich dass mir eine Gefälligkeit geschieht wenn Sie diesem jungen Mann Ihren Rath und Beystand gönnen wollen. Er hat manche gute Eigenschaften und es fehlt ihm nicht an Talent. Bey den weitläufigen Bedürfnissen der Buchhandlung, sollte es mich wundern wenn er nicht, gut geleitet, sich einen mässigen Unterhalt sollte verdienen können. Ich bin auch nicht abgeneigt ihm von Zeit zu Zeit einige Unterstützung zu gönnen, nur was seine Einrichtung betrifft, darin kann ich nicht reden, das ist ganz seine Sache.

Leben Sie wohl. Das Mst von *Tasso* folgt nun nach und nach. Senden Sie mir ja gleich 3 Exemplare der abgedruckten Bogen.

W. E. 22 Jun. 89

v Goethe

Der Brief ist abgedruckt in der Weimarer Ausgabe, Briefe, 9. Band, Seite 134-35. Er ist an Göschen gerichtet, dessen Geschäftsvermerk am oberen Rand des zweiten Bogens steht: Weimar d. 22. Juny 89. v. Goethe empf. d. 24. Die vorstehende Fassung ist dem Original entnommen, das sich nebst einem von mir im vorigen Jahre veröffentlichen, bis dahin unbekannten Briefe Schiller's, im Besitze von Frau Rossmässler in Germantown, Pennsylvanien befindet.

Vergleichung mit der Weimarer Ausgabe ergibt eine beträchtliche Anzahl Lesarten. Da die oben mitgeteilte Fassung urkundengetreu, ist dies die Rechtfertigung der Mitteilung.

Nur einige Bemerkungen zu den Unterschieden. *Darein*

¹ Act ist gestrichen, Scenen drübergeschrieben.

(W. A. S. 135, Z. 5) ist offensichtlich Lesefehler für darin, ebenso *Stück für Stücke* (Ebenda, S. 134, Z. 14). Nach den orthographischen Änderungen der Weimarer Ausgabe—wie *bei* statt *bey*, *wiederhole* statt *wiederhohle*, *betrifft* statt *betrift*—fallen besonders auf die vielen Änderungen in der Interpungierung. Zweimal ist, und zwar das zweite Mal ohne jede innere Berechtigung, ein Semikolon statt eines Kommas gesetzt, S. 134, Z. 14 nach *Mängel*, S. 135, Z. 6 nach *reden*. Einmal (S. 135, Z. 1 nach *Buchhandlung*) fehlt Goethes Komma. Achtmal hat schulmeisterlich-subalterne Pedanterie ein Komma eingefügt, wo Goethe keins hat. Goethe interpungiert sinnenfällig nach rhythmischen Grundsätzen, nach der musikalisch-logischen Art des Sprechstils. Selbst wenn dies nicht der Fall wäre und so unsern ästhetischen Sprachsinn weniger befriedigte, wäre uns der genaue Text eines von Goethe eigenhändig geschriebenen Briefes an sich sakrosankt.

KARL DETLEV JESSEN

BRYN MAWR, PA.

"TROTULA"

There has not been any adequate explanation of the reason that the name of "Trotula" should appear as the author of one of the books "bounden in o volume" which was the *Vade Mecum* of Jankin in the *Wife of Bath's Prologue*.¹ Tyrwhitt merely cites the title of one of the several editions of the *Trotulae curandarum aegritudinum muliebrium ante, in, et post partum, liber unicus*.² Skeat³ scarcely adds to our knowledge by following Warton in citing as two other works of the writer, a manuscript and an imprint of the same work under different titles. And yet one does not need to go far for an explanation.

Trotula was the first and most distinguished of the female representatives⁴ of the medical school of Salerno. The little that is known of her life is that she lived about the middle of the eleventh century, that she had the family name of di Ruggiero; that she was the wife of one member of the Salernitan school, Johannes Platearius I, and the mother of two others, Johannes Platearius II and Matthaeus Platearius I.⁵ Of her works the most important was a treatise on the diseases of women and the

¹ *Canterbury Tales*, ed. Skeat, Group D, 677, "Crisippus, Trotula, and Helowys."

² Note to C. T., l. 6253. He cites from the edition contained in the *Medici antiqui* (ff. 71-80) published by Aldus in 1547. Besides this edition P. Meyer (*Rom.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 270 n.) notes the first edition published in Strasburg in 1544, and that which appeared in Gaspard Wolf's *Gynaeciorum* published in Basle in 1586. To these are to be added the edition in the reprints of the latter work: Basle, 1586, 4to, I, pp. 89-127; in the *Gynaeciorum* of Spath, Strasburg, 1597, fol. ff. 42-60; in the three editions of Victorinus Faventinus, *Empirica*, Venice, 1554, 1555, 1565; 12mo, pp. 460-525; and in Heinrich Kormann, *De virginitate*, Leipzig, 1778.

³ *Works of Chaucer*, Vol. VI, p. 309. The two works noted are "Trotula Mulier Salernitana de passionibus mulierum," and "Trottula, seu potius Erotis medici aegritudinum muliebrium liber;" Basil, 1586; 4to. The latter of these is evidently the edition found in the *Gynaeciorum* of 1586, noted above.

⁴ Renan (*Hist. litt.*, Vol. XXX, p. 578) makes the curious mistake of stating that "le médecin salernitain est transformé en une femme." Upon the other female representatives of the school of Salerno, cf. de Renzi, *Collectio Salernitana*, Vol. I, pp. 372 ff.; Choulant, *Haesers Archiv*, Vol. II, pp. 301 ff.; J. K. Proksch, *Die Geschichte der venerischen Krankheiten*, Vol. I, p. 285.

⁵ De Renzi, *loc. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 149-64; Vol. III, pp. 327 ff.; Choulant, *Geschichte und Literatur der Alteren Medicin*, Vol. I, pp. 293, 294, 299; E. G. J. Siebold, *Essai d'une histoire de l'obstetric*, Vol. I, pp. 296-300.

care of children, known under the various titles of *De passionibus mulierum*,¹ *De aegritudinibus mulierum*,² *De curis mulierum*,³ *Trotula major*,⁴ and *Trotula*.⁵ A work dealing with the care of the complexion and cosmetics, known as *De ornatu mulierum*⁶ and *Trotula minor*,⁷ is generally appended in manuscripts to the more important work. The printed editions only present an abridged version of these two works,⁸ which cannot have been made before the thirteenth century,⁹ although in Wolf's edition the work is attributed to a certain Eros, a freedman of Augustus, the physician of the emperor's daughter, Julia.¹⁰

The great reputation of this mediæval Lydia Pinkham is not only evidenced by the large number of manuscripts of her work, and copies of certain chapters under the titles of *Practica domine Trote ad provocanda menstrua*,¹¹ and *Practica de secretis mulierum*,¹² liberal use was made of her work in later medical compilations; it was translated into various vernacular tongues, and the authoress was cited as a high authority. Her work is an important

¹ MS Bibliothèque nationale, Lat. 7856, Fol. 112 recto. Cf. Renzi, *loc. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 121; M. R. James, *Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, p. 481, "Trotula major de passionibus." This title is not to be confused with another medical treatise with the *Incipit* "De passionibus mulierum," sometimes attributed to Trotula, sometimes to Cleopatra (Rom., Vol. XXXII, p. 272; M. Steinschneider, *Virchows Archiv*, Vol. LII, pp. 349, 350) and again to Theodorus Priscianus (Oxford, Coll. Magd. CLXIV, 243 recto).

² James, *loc. cit.*, p. 62; Oxford, Merton Coll. CCCXXIV, Fol. 94 verso.

³ James, *loc. cit.*, p. 338, "Trotula major de curis mulierum," also pp. 345, 347. Cf. title of MS Univ. Bibl. Breslau, *Practica Trotulae mulieris Salernitanæ de curis mulierum*, which according to Haeser, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Medizin*, 3d ed., Vol. I, p. 663, is chiefly devoted to cosmetics.

⁴ James, *loc. cit.*, pp. 341, 385.

⁵ Rom., Vol. XXXII, p. 270; Oxford, Merton Coll. CCXXX, Fol. 11 verso; Digby, 29, Fol. 278 verso; cf. 291 verso, "Explicit hec Trota multum mulieribus apta."

⁶ James, *loc. cit.*, p. 59; Meyer, *loc. cit.*, p. 270; Coll. Magd. CLXXIII, Fol. 253 recto; A. Schultz, *Anz. f. d. Kunde d. deutschen Vorzeit*, 1877, col. 186-90.

⁷ Meyer, *loc. cit.*, p. 271; James, *loc. cit.*, pp. 340, 385; Haeser, p. 663.

⁸ Cf. Rom., Vol. XXXII, pp. 88, 270; Haeser, p. 662. Perhaps it would be better to speak of the two parts of one work, remembering that the first sixteen books of Priscian were known as *Priscianus major*, and the last two as *Priscianus minor*, cf. Thurot, *Notices et Extraits des MSS*, Vol. XXII, 1, 213; G. Becker, *Catalogi Antiqui Bibliothecarum Britique*, p. 321.

⁹ Choulant attributes the revision to a female physician of Salerno in the thirteenth century; *Jahr. f. d. deutsche Med.*, Vol. III, p. 144.

¹⁰ G. C. Gruner, *Neque Eros, neque Trotula, sed Salernitanus quidam medicus, isaque Christianus, auctor libelli est, qui de morbis mulierum inscribitur*, Jena, 1773.

¹¹ James, *loc. cit.*, p. 58. Upon the importance in mediæval medical treatises of this subject cf. J. Haupt, *Wiener Ak. Sitzungsber. phil. hist. Cl.*, Vol. LXXII, pp. 477, 480.

¹² Oxford, Bodleian, Rawlinson, C, DVI, Fol. 146 recto.

source of the twelfth century *De aegritudinum curatione*,¹ and of the *Poema medicum*² of the thirteenth century. It was translated, or at least largely utilized in two Old French verse compositions,³ and once translated into French⁴ prose and once into German.⁵ The popularity of the work was in part due to its pornographic character, and later compositions of the same stamp, such as the *Secreta mulierum*,⁶ falsely attributed to Albertus Magnus,⁷ refer to Trotula as one who sat on the bench of last appeal.⁸ A most striking instance of such a use, and its justification is to be found in a French work of the fourteenth century, *Le livre des secrets aux philosophes*:

Premierement je vous di que une feme qui fu philosophe, appelee Trotula, qui mout vesqui et fu moult belle en sa jeunece, de laquelle li phisicien qui riens seivent tiennent moult d'auctoritez et de bons enseignemenz, nous dist une partie des natures aus femmes. L'une partie nous en pot elle bien dire tant comme elle en sentit en soi; l'autre partie que, comme elle fust feme, et toutes femmes descovroient plus volentiers a li toutes leur contenances et leur secrez que a un home, e li disoient leur natures, et elle regardoit en ses livres et trouvoit concordances a ce que nature li en divisoit. Par icelle seusmes nous grant partie des natures aus femmes.⁹

How well the name of Trotula was known one sees from the way she is mentioned in the *Diz de l'erberie* of Rutebeuf. In this composition, a parody of the advertising methods of the traveling quack doctor, the charlatan, after puffing his wares, addresses the audience with

Or œiez ce que m'encharja
Ma dame qui m'envoia sa,

and dropping into prose continues:

Bele gent, je ne sui pas de ces povres prescheurs ne de ces povres herbiers qui vont par devant ces mostiers a ces chapes mau cozues, qui

¹ Choulant, *Haesers Archiv*, Vol. II, pp. 302 ff.; de Renzi, *loc. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 81 ff.

² de Renzi, *loc. cit.*, Vol. VI, pp. 1 ff.; cf. *Hist. litt.*, Vol. XXII, p. 105 (V. Le Clerc). On a reference to her as an authority in a medical work of the school of Salerno in Hebrew, cf. Steinschneider, *Virchows Archiv*, Vol. XL, p. 124.

³ Meyer, *loc. cit.*, pp. 88, 101.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 270. Cf. P. Giacosa, *Magistri Salernitani nondum editi*, p. 429.

⁵ Spiller, *Zeits. f. deutsches Alterthum*, Vol. XXVII, p. 167.

⁶ On similar works cf. Steinschneider, *Virchows Archiv*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 405, n. 53.

⁷ On attribution to Albertus, *Hist. litt.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 171, 173.

⁸ Spiller, *loc. cit.*, p. 168; cf. Oefele, *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, Vol. X, p. 672.

⁹ *Hist. litt.*, Vol. XXX, p. 578.

portent boites et sachez, et si estendent .i. tapis, car teiz vent poivre et coumin [et autres espices] qui n'a pas autant de sachez comme il ont. Sachiez que de ceulz ne sui je pas; ainz suis a une dame qui a nom Trote de Salerne, qui fait cuevre chief de ces oreilles, et li sorciz li pendent a chainnes d'argent pardesus les espauls; et sachiez que c'est la plus sage dame qui soit enz quatre parties dou monde.¹

Assuredly in Jankin's "book of wikked wyves" the work of such an authority on women, and of such wide repute would not be out of place.

GEORGE L. HAMILTON

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

¹ *Œuvres complètes de Rutebeuf*, ed. A. Jubinal, 1874, Vol. II, pp. 58, 59. I have corrected the text after the extracts printed by Picot in *Rom.*, Vol. XVI, p. 493. His comment on the passage is worth citing: "Trot de Salerne, ou Trotola de Roggeri, est resté célèbre parmi les médecins du XI^e siècle; mais Rutebeuf semble jouer ici sur le nom de ce médecin et sur la mule du marchand d'orviétan. C'est à cette dernière qu'appartiennent les longues oreilles et la chaîne d'argent qui sert de bride." G. Mannheimer, in his article "Etwas über die Ärzte im alten Frankreich," cites only the Rutebeuf passage (*Rom. Forsch.*, Vol. VI, p. 596). Cf. A. Delpeuch, *La Goutte et la Rhumatisme*, p. 350, for a comment on the passage.

THE RELATION OF DRYDEN'S "STATE OF INNOCENCE" TO MILTON'S "PARADISE LOST" AND
WYCHERLEY'S "PLAIN DEALER": AN
INQUIRY INTO DATES

In the history of English literature few incidents are better known or more attractive to the imagination than the meeting of Dryden and Milton, recorded by Aubrey.¹ In that meeting confronted each other not only radically contrasting personalities and geniuses, but epochs of society and government, of literary ideals and form. Dryden came to do honor to Milton, but he came with the proposal to translate Milton's greatest work into a form which the age could comprehend and enjoy, to turn the blank-verse epic into a rimed "sacred opera." Whether Milton's feeling was one of amusement, as Masson suggests, or indifference, as Scott has it, or something deeper, he answered Dryden at all events with superb self-reliance and control. "Certainly," he appears to have replied, "you may tag my verses, if you will." And so, some time after the publication of the second edition of *Paradise Lost*, in 1674, came out Dryden's *The State of Innocence and Fall of Man*.

It was entered on the Stationers' Register by Herringman, the publisher, on April 17, 1674, under the title *The Fall of Angels and Man in Innocence*, and was published, according to Scott,² soon after Milton's death, on November 8 of that year. This date of publication has been accepted by Genest,³ Saintsbury,⁴ Masson,⁵ A. W. Ward,⁶ W. C. Ward,⁷ and by scholars in general. During the interval between entry and publication, "many hundred" surreptitious and erroneous copies had got abroad, as Dryden informs us in the well-known "Apology for Heroic Poetry and

¹ *Lives*.

² *Works of Dryden*, ed. by Scott and Saintsbury, V, 99.

³ *History of the Drama and Stage in England*, I, 161.

⁴ *Works of Dryden*, V, 94.

⁵ *Life of Milton*, VI, 710.

⁶ *History of English Dramatic Literature*, III, 368.

⁷ *Plays of Wycherley* (Mermaid Series), 364.

Poetic License," a defense of his method, prefixed to the *State of Innocence*; and critics were expressing unfavorable opinions. "Among those critics of the opera," claims Mr. Masson, "as it was to be read in the copies that had got about early in 1674, were Milton himself and his friend Marvell. The fact has escaped notice hitherto, but it is certain, nevertheless."¹ For proof of the fact Mr. Masson relies upon the date of the entry, with Dryden's statement as to the surreptitious copies; and the verses of Andrew Marvell, prefixed to the second edition of *Paradise Lost*; the peculiarity of which, says Masson, "consists in their being a studied combination of eulogium on Milton for his *Paradise Lost* with rebuke to Dryden for his impudence in attempting a dramatic and rhymed transversion of such an epic."²

There is another literary relation of interest connected with *The State of Innocence*. In the "Apology" Dryden refers to the dramatist Wycherley. "The author of the 'Plain Dealer,' whom I am proud to call my friend, has," he says, "obliged all honest and virtuous men, by one of the most bold, most general, and most useful satires, which has ever been presented on the English Theatre."³ Now *The Plain Dealer*, here referred to, was not published till 1677, but Dryden's words show that when he wrote the "Apology" it was already on the stage, and as *The State of Innocence* with the prefaced "Apology" has been dated 1674, it follows that Wycherley's play was produced as early as that year. And this has been the general assumption of the editors and critics of Wycherley. The date is of special importance because there has been much controversy as to Wycherley's method of work. Rochester characterized him as "slow" and says:

Wycherley earns hard whater'e he gains,
He wants no judgment, nor he spares no pains.⁴

Lansdowne objected that the adjective "slow" was due merely to the demands of Rochester's verse. To judge by what Wycherley accomplished one would think it

could be no other than the work of extraordinary diligence, labour and application. But, in truth, we owe the pleasure and advantage of having

¹ *Life of Milton*, VI, 710.

² *Life of Milton*, VI, 715.

³ *Works of Dryden*, V, 115.

⁴ "An Allusion to Horace," in *Poems on Several Occasions*, ed. of 1685, p. 36.

been so well entertain'd and instructed by him, to his facility of doing it The club which a man of an ordinary size could not lift, was but a walking-staff for *Hercules*.¹

And Pope declared:

Lord Rochester's character of Wycherley is quite wrong. He was far from being slow in general, and in particular, wrote the *Plain Dealer* in three weeks.²

Now, if *The Plain Dealer* was produced in 1674, we have good evidence that Wycherley carefully worked over and revised his plays; for the first edition, of 1677, contains allusions to events and productions subsequent to 1674.

Thus the conclusions that Milton knew the *State of Innocence*, except for the evidence of Marvell's verses, and that Wycherley's *Plain Dealer* was produced in 1674, both depend upon the acceptance of 1674 as the date of the publication of *The State of Innocence*. A careful examination of the data on which the authorities above named relied, together with data that have since become available, leads to the belief that *The State of Innocence* was not published in 1674, nor in 1676, the date ascribed by W. C. Hazlitt,³ Halliwell,⁴ and others, but first in 1677. It will be seen that there is no direct testimony to the 1674 date, and only one piece of apparently direct testimony, and, so far as I have been able to discover, no testimony at all for the 1676 date; while there is evidence of considerable value that the 1677 edition is the first.

The verses of Marvell—all that are important for this discussion—are these:

ON PARADISE LOST

When I beheld the poet blind, yet bold,
In slender book his vast design unfold—

.

. The argument

Held me awhile misdoubting his intent,
That he should ruin (for I saw him strong)
The sacred truths to fable and old song

.

¹ *Genuine Works of George Granville, Lord Lansdowne*, ed. of 1732, I, 432.

² *Spence's Anecdotes*, ed. Singer, p. 201.

³ *Manual for the Collector and Amateur of Old English Plays*. ⁴ *Dictionary of Plays*.

Yet as I read, soon growing less severe,
I liked his project, the success did fear—

.
Lest he perplexed the things he would explain,
And what was easy he should render vain.
Or if a work so infinite he spanned,
Jealous I was that some less skillful hand
(Such as disquiet always what is well,
And by ill-imitating would excel,)
Might hence presume the whole Creation's day
To change in scenes, and show it in a play.
Pardon me, mighty Poet; nor despise
My causeless, yet not impious surmise.
But I am now convinced, and none will dare
Within thy labours to pretend a share.
Thou hast not missed one thought that could be fit,
And all that was improper dost omit;
So that no room is here for writers left,
But to detect their ignorance or theft.

.
Well might'st thou scorn thy readers to allure
With tinkling rime, of thy own sense secure;
While the Town-Bayes writes all the while and spells,
And, like a pack-horse, tires without his bells.
Their fancies like our bushy points appear;
The poets tag them, we for fashion wear.
I too, transported by the mode, offend,
And, while I meant to *praise* thee, must *commend*.
Thy verse, created, like thy theme sublime,
In number, weight, and measure, needs not rime.

These latter lines are sufficient to prove Masson's claim that Milton and Marvell had talked over Dryden's request and Milton's answer; but they afford no evidence that they had seen *The State of Innocence*, or even that they knew it was to be published. After stating that he had been fearful lest someone might show Milton's work in a play, Marvell calls his surmise "causeless." The lines that follow—somewhat significantly, not quoted by Masson—appear to mean that he is now convinced that no one will dare to turn *Paradise Lost* into a play, because to do so would clearly manifest him a fool or a thief; they may mean that he no longer fears, because, if anyone does turn Milton's work

into a play, it can only redound to Milton's honor, through the manifest ignorance or plagiarism of the dramatist; but they certainly do not indicate that Marvell has seen any such play. Dryden's project he evidently knows; had he known Dryden's production, he could hardly have failed to attack it more directly.

That Milton and Marvell had seen *The State of Innocence* appears less likely in view of the date when the second edition of *Paradise Lost* was published. Professor Arber's invaluable reprint of the Term Catalogues¹ now enables us to state approximately the time of year when it appeared. It is advertised in the Catalogue of Books published in Trinity Term, 1674. This catalogue was licensed for publication on July 6, so the second edition of Milton's work had either been published between May 26, or thereabout—the date of the preceding catalogue—and July 6, or on July 6 was about to appear. Thus, even if Marvell's verses were written and printed after the second edition was otherwise ready, we have at the most barely three months after its entry in the Stationers' Register for a surreptitious copy of *The State of Innocence* to come into Milton's hands. These copies were evidently written, not printed. Dryden speaks of "everyone gathering new faults," and Masson calls them "transcripts." In view of all the circumstances it appears highly improbable that Milton had seen *The State of Innocence*: it clearly is not "certain."

But even if Milton saw such a copy, and even if that copy were printed, this is no evidence that the authorized edition was published in 1674. Scott's statement that it was so published, "shortly after the death of Milton" on November 8, adopted by Masson and others, appears to rest on no better foundation than the natural belief that it would be published not long after the entry in the Stationers' Register, and the fact that Dryden in the prefaced "Apology" speaks of Milton as deceased. It is a not unnatural surmise that Dryden might have delayed the publication of his work out of regard for the aged poet merely until his death.

¹ *The Term Catalogues, 1668-1709*. Edited by Professor Edward Arber; Vol. I, 1903; Vol. II, 1905. By this vast and difficult undertaking, of which he bears all the financial as well as editorial responsibility, Professor Arber has again placed students of English literature deeply in his debt.

Two things declare strongly against the acceptance of this surmise. The first is that a copy of a 1674 edition is not to be found! First editions of Dryden's other plays are not rare. Dryden's popularity and prominence, together with the connection of this book with Milton, would lead one to expect a specially large first edition. The edition of 1677 is today a fairly common book; yet the supposed first edition is not to be found. It is not in the British Museum, the Bodleian, or the Cambridge University Library, and diligent search in the other large British libraries has failed to reveal it. No private collection has been discovered that contains it. Mr. Edmund Gosse has been collecting for thirty years, has in his possession the first edition of every other play of Dryden; but this he has never seen or heard of. The great London booksellers have never seen it, though they have been commissioned hundreds of times to procure a copy. Nor has the edition apparently ever been described. Why should this one first edition be so entirely missing?

Corroborative evidence is furnished by the Term Catalogues. From November, 1668, to November, 1682, but one play of Dryden—*All for Love*—is missing from the catalogues. All the others, fourteen in number, leaving out *The State of Innocence*, are advertised in what are demonstrably the first editions. And the one new play, *Don Sebastian*, which appears in the catalogues after this time is also in the first edition. For books not in the first edition the catalogues have a special heading—"Reprinted Books." Now, *The State of Innocence* appears first in the Term Catalogue for Hilary Term (licensed for publication February 12), 1676-7. This is the edition which bears on the title-page the date 1677. Like all the other plays, this entry of *The State of Innocence* does not appear under the heading "Reprinted Books," but under that of "Poetry and Plays." Professor Arber informs me that he has never yet [August, 1904] discovered a case where a book not entered under the head of "Reprinted Books" is not a first edition. The third edition of *The State of Innocence* appears in the catalogue of November, 1684, in its proper place, under the head of "Reprinted." Why should it be supposed that the edition of *The State of Innocence* entered in February,

1676-7, forms a unique exception, and though not entered under the head "Reprinted" was really preceded by an edition in 1674 and possibly by another in 1676?¹

Only one piece of apparently direct evidence for the existence of a 1674 edition have I succeeded in discovering; but this is of a character to give one pause. In Saintsbury's edition of Scott's Dryden he publishes what appears to be a copy of the title-page of the first edition of *The State of Innocence*. It differs in spelling from the title-page of the 1677 edition, but this is probably the editor's modernization; the quotation is followed by "Ovid Met." [1677, "Metam."]; it is printed by "T. M." [1677, "T. N.," i. e. Tho. Newcomb]; and it is dated 1674!

Here, it seemed, was evidence enough for the existence of a 1674 edition. Private inquiry was made of Professor Saintsbury where this 1674 copy was to be found. His reply I am not authorized to quote in detail. It must suffice to say that, while he believed that he would in no case quote a title-page except from actual inspection by himself or a trustworthy deputy, he could not remember where it had been seen; nor is the volume to be found in the British Museum or Mr. Gosse's collection, where he thought he might have seen it. Nor could he offer any evidence for its existence. Another letter recently received from Professor Saintsbury says: "I always now inform inquirers that the '74 *State of Innocence* cannot be found and is probably a Boojum."

And there we are left. It is difficult to account for Professor Saintsbury's title-page. But as he cannot account for it himself, and apparently no longer believes in it, is there not, in view of the other evidence, good reason to believe that his title-page is not in fact the copy of a title-page bearing the date 1674?

None of the evidence that I have adduced against the existence of a 1674 edition is absolutely conclusive. But it is sufficient to warrant the strong belief that there was no such edition, until someone has actually produced or described it.

For the 1676 date there is apparently no evidence at all. An

¹ It is perhaps not without significance that in the interval between November, 1673, and Easter, 1676, Dryden published nothing but the pamphlet *Notes and Observations on the Empress of Morocco*.

edition may have been put on the market late in that year, but if so it bore the date 1677.

There remains the question how, if the 1677 date be accepted as that of the first edition, we are to account for the delay in the publication since April 17, 1674. Masson's explanation of the delay till after Milton's death suggests a plausible conjecture for the longer delay. In the contract between Milton and his publisher, Milton engaged

that he the said Jo. Milton, his executors or administrators, or any other by his or their means or consent, shall not print or cause to be printed, or sell, dispose or publish the said book or manuscript, or *any other book or manuscript of the same tenor or subject*, without the consent of the said Samuel Symons, his executors or assigns.¹

Milton's permission to Dryden may easily have appeared to Symons a breach of contract; and it would not be at all strange if he made such difficulties for Dryden and his publisher Herringman as to delay the publication of *The State of Innocence*, not only during the remainder of Milton's lifetime, but for some time after, until the second edition of Milton's work was well disposed of.

Our conclusion is therefore that Wycherley's *Plain Dealer* was not produced in 1674, but probably as late as 1676, and that the 1677 edition of *The State of Innocence* is the first. And it may be said that our conclusion is strengthened by the fact that it has already been reached by Professor Ker and Mr. Gosse. In his edition of Dryden's essays Professor Ker gives 1677 as the date of the first edition,² and Mr. Gosse writes in a private letter:³

I have ceased to believe in the editions of *The State of Innocence* of 1674 and 1676. I believe the edition of 1677 to be the first . . . I possess in my own collection every other play of Dryden in the first edition, and have been collecting now for thirty years. I think that if there were an edition earlier than 1677, I must have heard of it.

GEORGE B. CHURCHILL

AMHERST COLLEGE

¹ *Life of Milton*, VI, 713.

² *Essays of John Dryden*, ed. by W. P. Ker, I, lxxv. Cf. also Ker's note, p. 313.

³ To Winston H. Hagen, Esq., New York.

A NOTE ON THE SOURCES OF THE OLD SAXON "GENESIS."

It is well known that the narrative in the Anglo-Saxon *Genesis B*, which constitutes in translated form the longest existing fragment of the Old Saxon *Genesis*, departs considerably from the corresponding portions of the Vulgate. But it has not been clearly shown that the author had any other source, and recent opinion appears to be tending toward the view that his variations are original. This idea was long ago suggested, though not actually stated, by Sievers, who discussed the question of sources quite incidentally in his famous essay on the *Heliand* and the *Genesis*.¹ Sievers pointed out that, while the doctrine of the creation and fall of the angels (ll. 246 ff.) was a theological commonplace, and while other parts of the *Genesis* resembled passages in Avitus, at the same time there were significant variations from both Avitus and the commentators; and he laid stress upon certain elements which seemed peculiar to the Saxon poet. Later investigators have expressed doubt about the parallels from Avitus, and Behaghel, in a recent general survey² of the literary relations of the *Genesis*, speaks with some assurance of the independent imagination of the author, adding that he has not been proved to have made use of any sources outside of the Bible. This opinion, then, appears to be becoming current doctrine on the subject,³ and it may be well to inquire whether the peculiarities of the Saxon narrative are, after all, so entirely without parallel.

The feature of the story which has been oftenest designated as original is the account of the temptation and the fall. The tempter, it will be remembered, is said by the Saxon poet to have

¹ *Der Heliand und die angelsächsische Genesis* (Halle, 1875).

² *Heliand and Genesis* (1903), p. xxiii, with a reference to Siebs, *ZDPv*, XXVIII, 139.

³ Other expressions of the same opinion will be cited in the following pages. Jellinek (Haupt's *Anzeiger*, XXI, 220), speaking primarily of the later Vatican fragments which deal with Cain and Sodom, expresses uncertainty about the author's use of biblical commentaries. He says he could cite parallels to ll. 41, 75, 79, 124, 273, etc.: "Aber mit solchen vereinzelten Nachweisen ist doch wenig gethan."

declared himself a messenger of God, and to have professed to bring Adam and Eve divine permission to eat of the forbidden tree.

Ongon hine þá frinan forman worde
 Se láða mid ligenum: "Langað þé áwuhþ,
 Adam, up tó Gode? Ic eom on his ærende hider
 feorran geféred; ne þæt nú fyrr ne wæs,
 þæt ic wið hine sylfne sæt. þá hét hé mé on fiske sið faran,
 hét þæt þú pisses ofættes æte, cwæð þæt þin abal and cræft
 and þin móðsefa mára wurde
 and þin lichoma léohtra micle,
 þin gesceapu scénran; cwæð þæt þé æniges sceattes þearf
 ne wurde on worulde."¹

When he failed to beguile Adam, he went to Eve and urged her to avert the divine anger which Adam had incurred by doubting God's messenger and refusing to eat. If she would take the forbidden fruit herself, and persuade Adam also to taste it, all would yet be well.

Gif þú þæt angin fremest, idesa seó betste,
 forhele ic incrum herran, þæt mé hearms swá fela
 Ádam gespræc, eargra worda,
 týhð mé untryówða, cwyð þæt ic seó teónum georn,
 gramum ambyhtsecg, nales godes engel.
 Ac ic cann ealle swá geare engla gebyrdo,
 heah heofona gehlidu: wæs seó hwil þæs lang,
 þæt ic geornlice gode þegnode
 þurh holdne hyge, herran mínum,
 dryhtne selfum: ne eom ic ðeófle gelíc.²

Thus the tempter made his appeal to the credulity of the first parents rather than to their pride, and caused them to disobey God unwittingly and in a sense innocently. The doctrine is 'obviously not biblical, and Sievers, finding no support for it in the commentators, pronounced it "eigenthümlich."³ Other scholars have been less cautious and have attributed it to the poet's invention. Hoenncher, in an article⁴ on the sources of the

¹ Ll. 495 ff. The quotations are from Behaghel's text (*Heliand and Genesis*, p. 215).

² Ll. 578 ff.

³ Sandras had also called attention to its peculiarity (*De carminibus Anglo-Saxoniciæ Cædmoni adjudicatis disquisitio*, p. 74).

⁴ *Anglia*, VIII, 41 ff. See particularly pp. 48 ff. Compare also Jovy's discussion of the subject in the *Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik*, V.

Genesis, while undertaking to show that Sievers was wrong in deriving any part of the poem from Avitus, insisted still more strongly than Sievers on the originality of the account of the fall; and W. P. Ker, in his admirable volume on the Dark Ages¹ quoted the opinion as if it were an established fact and made it the basis of critical observations. "Both imagination and good sense," he observed, "are shown, as Sievers has brought out, in the view taken of the temptation. The ordinary theological motives, gluttony and vainglory, did not seem sufficient. The poet would not so degrade the Protoplast. Adam and Eve are beguiled by the lies of the serpent, who brings them word that the Lord has revoked his prohibition, and that for their good they are to eat of the fruit of the tree." The same implication of originality on the part of the Saxon author is found in a recent dissertation by Abbtmeyer, who remarks: "The poet, it then appears, selected the Teutonic conception of loyalty to account for the disloyalty of the first parents."²

Now, while I am not prepared to say just where the Saxon writer learned his theory of the temptation, I am convinced that he did not invent it, and consequently that he is not to be credited with such originality as the foregoing comments imply. To be sure, the details of his story differ considerably from any other account of the fall that I have seen. But the feature of the deception upon which Sievers and his followers lay stress, is by no means uncommon in the apocryphal documents about Adam and Eve. It is natural to conclude that the Saxon version is somehow indebted to that body of literature. In the Latin *Vita Adae et Evae*, edited and discussed by Wilhelm Meyer³ a few years after the appearance of Sievers' study of the *Genesis*, a similar deception is practiced by Satan to induce Eve, after her expulsion from the garden, to abandon her penance in the waters of the Tigris. The fiend transforms himself into an angel of

¹ *The Dark Ages*, p. 259.

² C. Abbtmeyer, *Old English Poetical Motives Derived from the Doctrine of Sin* (Minneapolis, 1903), p. 23. Elsewhere (p. 20) Abbtmeyer says of the passage in the *Genesis*: "The source, though much looked for, has not been found." Perhaps he means, then, that the author was influenced by the Germanic conception of loyalty, not in inventing a new theory of the fall, but in choosing among existing accounts of it.

³ *Abhandl. d. königl. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.*, XIV (1878), pp. 187 ff.

light and tells Eve that God has forgiven Adam and her and remitted their penalty.¹ Eve is deceived at once and comes out of the river; but Adam recognizes the Adversary and rebukes Eve for having again yielded to him. The circumstances of this temptation differ considerably from those in the *Genesis*, where Adam is first approached (ll. 261 ff.), and where the tempter takes the usual form of the serpent, though protesting himself to be an angel from God. But the nature of the strategy is the same in both instances, and the Saxon poet, or more probably some predecessor, may simply have transferred to the temptation in the garden the method employed by Satan, according to the *Vita*, in the later temptation by the Tigris.

The apocryphal accounts of the earlier temptation furnish, in my opinion, some confirmation of this surmise; for they exhibit a good deal of confusion as to the form in which Satan addresses Eve when he offers her the forbidden fruit in Paradise. In the Greek *Apocalypse of Moses*² (hereafter referred to briefly as the *Apocalypse*) Eve, long after the expulsion, relates to her children the story of the fall. She declares that Satan appeared to her in the form of an angel, and then she describes him as answering one of her questions "out of the mouth of the serpent."³ The inconsistency apparently arises from the introduction

¹ *Vita*, § 9: "Et transierunt dies xviii. tunc iratus est Satanas et transfiguravit se in claritatem angelorum et abiit ad Tigrim flumen ad Evam et invenit eam flentem. et ipse diabolus quasi condolens ei coepit flere et dixit ad eam: egredere de flumine et de cetero non plores. iam cessa de tristitia et gemitu. quid sollicita es tu et Adam vir tuus? audivit dominus deus gemitum vestrum et suscepit penitentiam vestram; et nos omnes angeli rogavimus pro vobis deprecantes dominum, et misit me, ut educerem vos de aqua et darem vobis alimentum quod habuistis in paradiso et pro quo planxistis. nunc ergo egredere de aqua et perducam vos in locum, ubi paratus est victus vester. Haec audiens autem Eva credidit et exivit de aqua fluminis et caro ejus erat sicut herba de frigore aquae. et eum egrossa esset cecidit in terram, et erexit eam diabolus et perduxit eam ad Adam."

² This Confession of Eve (*Apocalypsis Mosie*, §§ 15 ff.) does not appear in the *Vita*, where Adam (p. 236) simply asks Eve to tell the story to the children after his death. But Meyer, believing it to have formed an episode of the earlier work from which both the *Vita* and the *Apocalypse* were derived, inserted the Greek passage (following Tischendorf's *Apocalypses Apocryphae*) after § 41 of the Latin text. For Meyer's discussion of the relation of the *Vita* and the *Apocalypse* see p. 206 of his article; and for evidence that a Latin text combining elements of both existed in Ireland in the tenth century see Thurneysen, *Revue celtique*, VI, 104.

³ The devil first asks the serpent to help him. λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ διάβολος· μὴ φοβοῦ. γενοῦ μοι σκεῦος καὶ λαλήσω διὰ στόματός σου ῥήματα πρὸς τὸ ἐξαπατῆσαι αὐτόν. καὶ ἐκμετάσθη εὐθὺς παρὰ τῶν τευχῶν τοῦ παραδείσου περὶ ὧν ὅταν ἀνῆλθον οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ προσκυνῆσαι. τότε ὁ Σατανᾶς ἐγένετο ἐν εἰδὲι ἀγγέλου καὶ ὕμνει τὸν θεὸν καθάπερ οἱ ἄγγελοι. καὶ παρέκφυε ἐκ τοῦ τεύχους

into the biblical story of the apocryphal idea of the later temptation as set forth in the *Vita*—just such a confusion as I have assumed to lie behind the Saxon poem.¹ Except for what is implied by the angelic disguise, the motive of Eve's guilt in the *Apocalypse* is made substantially the same as in the biblical account. The tempter tells her that if she and Adam eat of the fruit their eyes will be opened to perceive good and evil, and that God has forbidden them to touch the tree for fear that they will become like him. But the object of the disguise itself was clearly to make Eve suppose she was dealing with a loyal messenger of the Lord, and to complete the deception Satan even joined the other angels in singing a hymn of praise to God.

The author of the Saxon *Genesis*, then, whether or not he wrote independently, was not the first or only authority to refuse to "degrade the Protoplast." I am inclined to believe that he did not reinvent the motive, but rather that he knew some form of the apocryphal *Life of Adam and Eve*. Very likely he is still to be credited with originality in his treatment of the details of the story. At all events, I have not found any other account which resembles it closely. The long speech of Satan (ll. 356 ff.), pointed out by Sievers² as a departure from Avitus, is not only not paralleled by the *Vita*, but represents a different theory of the fall of the angels.³ The use by Satan of a subordinate demon

καὶ εἶδον αὐτὸν ὅμοιον ἀγγέλῳ. καὶ λέγει μοι· σὺ εἰ ἢ Εὔα; καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ· ἐγώ εἰμι. καὶ λέγει μοι· τί ποιεῖς ἐν τῇ παραδείσῳ; καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ· ὁ θεὸς ἔθεντο ἡμᾶς ὥστε φυλάσσειν καὶ ἰσθίειν ἐξ αὐτοῦ. ἀπεκρίθη μοι ὁ διάβολος διὰ στόματος τοῦ ὄφιος· καλῶς ποιεῖτε, ἀλλ' εἰς ἰσθίετε ἀπὸ παντὸς φυτοῦ. καὶ γὰρ λέγω αὐτῷ· ναί, ἀπὸ πάντων ἰσθίωμεν παρὶς ἐνὸς μόνου, ὃ ἔστιν ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ παραδείσου, περὶ οὗ ἐνετείλατο ὁ θεὸς ἡμῖν μὴ ἰσθίειν ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ἐπεὶ θανάτῳ ἀποθανείσθε.

¹ Meyer (p. 206) comments on this confusion in the *Apocalypse*. Something like it is observable in the Slavic versions of the story published later by Jagić, *Abhandl. d. kais. österreichischen Gesellsch. d. Wiss.*, 1893, II, 26 ff. In the first of these texts the devil appears as an angel and tempts Eve. Nothing is said of the serpent, though Satan has already instructed it to beguile Eve. In the second version, which Jagić thinks is a correction of the first account, Satan does not go to the serpent till he has talked with Eve. Gaster (*Ilchester Lectures on Greco-Slavonic Literature*, p. 32) quotes a popular Wallachian version of the Confession of Eve, according to which the devil first comes as an angel and tries to beguile Eve, and after his repulse the serpent comes as an angel and prevails upon her. I cite these accounts, of course, not because I suppose them to have influenced the Saxon, but simply to show how, as I believe, the conception of the temptation in the garden was affected by the tradition about the later temptation.

² Pp. 18 ff.

³ In the *Vita* Satan tells Adam that the fallen angels were expelled from heaven because they refused to worship Adam, the image of God. The *Genesis*, on the contrary, follows

to tempt Eve (*dyrne deofles boda*, l. 490) is unlike the procedure in either the *Vita* or the *Apocalypse*.¹ The long conversation between Eve and Adam when she urges him to eat the apple also finds no close parallel in these texts.² But, on the other hand, certain elements of the *Genesis* which Sievers found it hard to account for may be plausibly explained by the Adam book. The delusive light which Eve saw when she had partaken of the fruit, and which disappeared soon after Adam's fall was accomplished,³ may well go back to the "great glory" described in the *Apocalypse* as surrounding the forbidden tree.⁴ The account of the sufferings of Adam and Eve after their expulsion (ll. 802 ff.) is not based upon the Vulgate, and Siebs has shown⁵ that it is not strikingly similar to the two passages cited by Sievers⁶ from the third book of Avitus. It is also unlikely, in my opinion, that the lines contain a reminiscence of a passage in Hilarius, as Siebs suggests,⁷ and it seems quite as easy to explain them as an elaboration of the situation described at the beginning of the *Vita*. The Latin text, to be sure, is brief and bare at this point,⁸ but other versions of the Adam book (as, for example, the Irish *Saltair na Rann*)⁹

the orthodox view and represents the fall of the angels as anterior to their envy of man. Meyer (p. 199) cites Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* xi, 18, for the condemnation of the apocryphal account. Compare also Bonwetsch on Methodius, Göttingen *Abhandlungen*, N. F. VII (1903), 71 ff. A disagreement with respect to this doctrine of course constitutes no argument against the influence of the Adam book on the *Genesis*.

¹ This situation was long ago compared by Sandras (*De carminibus Anglo-Saxonicis Caedmoni adjudicatis disquisitio*, p. 67) with that in another apocryphal document, *The Book of Enoch* (ed. Lawrence, lxviii, 61), where Gadrel is represented as the seducer of Eve.

² The *Apocalypse* represents Adam as more easily persuaded. ἄμα γὰρ ἦλθεν, ἤνοιξα τὸ στόμα μου καὶ ὁ διάβολος ἔλαλει καὶ ἡρέσμεν νουθετεῖν αὐτὸν λέγονσα· δεῦρο, κύριέ μου Ἀδάμ, ἐπάκουσόν μου καὶ φάγε ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ δένδρου, οὗ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς τοῦ μὴ φάγεῖν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔσῃ ὡς θεός, καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ πατήρ ὑμῶν εἶπεν· φοβοῦμαι μὴ ποτε ὀργισθῇ μοι ὁ θεός. ἐγὼ δὲ εἶπον αὐτῷ· μὴ φοβοῦ· ἄμα γὰρ φάγεις ἔσῃ γινώσκων καλὸν καὶ πονηρόν. καὶ τότε ταχέως πείσασα αὐτὸν, ἔφαγεν, καὶ ἠνεψήχθησαν αὐτοῦ οἱ ὀφθαλμοί, καὶ ἔγνω καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν γόμενσιν αὐτοῦ.

³ Ll. 600 ff., 666 ff., 772 ff.

⁴ σὺ δὲ πρόσχε τῷ φντῷ καὶ ὄψεαι δόξαν μεγάλην περὶ αὐτοῦ. ἐγὼ δὲ προσέσχον τῷ φντῷ καὶ εἶδον δόξαν μεγάλην περὶ αὐτοῦ. Sievers (p. 20) pointed out that the "repentinus fulgor" in his parallel passage from Avitus does not appear until after Adam's fall is accomplished, and is also not described as a "teuflicher Trug." In the *Apocalypse* the "great glory," which seems to be part of the tempter's device, is visible to Eve before she eats of the fruit.

⁵ ZDPH, XXVIII, 138, 139.

⁶ P. 21.

⁷ Siebs's reference is to Hilarius, *In Genesin ad Papam Leonem*, ll. 164 ff.

⁸ Quando expulsi sunt de paradiso, fecerunt sibi tabernaculum et fuerunt vii. dies lugentes et lamentantes in magna tristitia. post vii. autem dies coeperunt esurire et quaerebant escam ut manducarent, et non inveniabant.

⁹ Ll. 1469-1520 (Whitley Stokes's edition, Oxford, 1894).

enlarge considerably upon the sufferings of Adam and Eve from hunger, thirst, and the fierceness of the elements. Finally, I think we have in Adam's words in ll. 830 ff. a hint of the penance in the rivers, a conspicuous episode of the *Vita* which has been already referred to.¹ After bewailing the sorrow that sin has brought upon himself and Eve, Adam declares himself ready to endure any pain for the sake of regaining God's favor.

Gif ic waldendes willan cūðe,
 hwæt ic his tó hearmsceare habban sceoide,
 ne gesáwe þú nó sníómor, þeáh mé on sé wadan
 hété heofenes god, heonone nu þá
 on flód faran: náere hé firnum þæs déop,
 merestréam þæs micel, þæt his ó min mód getwéode,
 ac ic tó þám grunde genge, gif ic godes meahthe
 willan gewyrcean.²

Unfortunately the interpolated fragment—*Genesis B*—breaks off just too soon for us to know whether the poem included an account of the penance.³

By these various resemblances, as well as by the similarity in the central motive of the temptation, I am led to believe that there is some connection between the *Genesis* and the body of tradition represented in the Latin *Vita* and the Greek *Apocalypse*. It remains to be said that there is no chronological difficulty in my supposition. One of the Latin manuscripts published by Meyer is earlier than the eighth century. Meyer assigns the composition of the Latin text to the fourth century, and Tischendorf dated the *Apocalypse* in the "saecula circa Christum natum."⁴ The original Adam book, from which both of these were derived, Meyer holds to have been pre-Christian (probably written in Hebrew), and to this *Urtext* he traces various Jewish and Mohammedan legends⁵

¹ See p. 392, above.

² Hoenncher (*Anglia*, VIII, 55) suggested a relation between these lines and the Middle English *Canticum de creatione*, which is now known to be based upon the apocryphal *Life of Adam*.

³ In the later fragments of the Old Saxon *Genesis* there are also apocryphal elements, such as the references to the "children of Cain" (ll. 807 ff.) and to the battle between Enoch and Antichrist (ll. 879 ff.). The first of these, though not found, I think, in either the *Vita* or the *Apocalypse*, appears elsewhere in documents derived from the Adam book. Compare the Irish *Saltair na Rann*, ll. 2389 ff., for the "clann Cain."

⁴ See Meyer's introduction for all these matters.

⁵ For the Mohammedan stories in question see Weil, *Biblische Legende der Musselmänner*, p. 20.

in which Satan is said to have tempted Eve in the form of an angel. The apocryphal story, then, was widely known long before the time of the Saxon poet, who is now supposed to have written after the author of the *Heliand*. Its later influence is apparent in various literatures of mediaeval Europe, and Meyer brought together in his introduction¹ a considerable list of versions. But none of the vernacular texts cited by him is as early as the probable date of the Old Saxon poem, which furnishes, if my argument be accepted, an interesting bit of additional testimony to the spread of the tradition.

F. N. ROBINSON

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

¹ See p. 209 ff. The Irish *Saltair na Rann*, to which I have several times referred, was not published till after Meyer's article. See Stokes's edition, *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, 1892, and Thurneysen's remarks, *Revue celtique*, VI, 114 ff. It is a document of the tenth century. A later prose redaction from the *Lebor Brecc* was published by MacCarthy in the Todd Lecture Series of the Royal Irish Academy, III, pp. 29 ff. The narrative in the *Saltair* is not close enough to that in the *Genesis* to suggest a direct relation between the two.

